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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 2, 1992 VOL. 166 NO. 1

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

10 OPENING NOTES

Bob MacLean's Olympic mood games, Atlanta's Pines changes its mind, Robert Feltford stands up for editing, body traps trap U.S. primary hopefuls, the CBC outsources CIO at Altonville, a gold medalist gets her day off to a vibrant start, Pierre Trudeau returns to Parliament as an out.

13 COLUMN/DIANE FRANCIS

14 CANADA

An emerging consensus finds that the debate about a future without Quebec may be healthy; the Reform platform dominates an election agenda in Little Bear, Alta.

18 WORLD

Moscow's 8.5 million residents struggle to live normal lives against a backdrop of economic hardship and political uncertainty; some want to be entertained, while love still blooms for others; more blood is spilled in the Middle East on the eve of peace talks.

24 BUSINESS/SPECIAL REPORT

32 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

38 COVER

46 PEOPLE

48 MEDIA WATCH/GEORGE BAIN

51 FILMS

American character actor Ned Beatty delivers the performance of a lifetime in a British movie, Bear My Song.

52 TELEVISION

Mixed signals about sex and violence are facing the networks to work harder than ever to stop viewers and advertisers from tuning out; Indiana Jones stores the small screen.

54 BOOKS

Three studies of the Reform party reveal its strengths—and the weaknesses that may plague Preston Manning.

56 FOTHERINGHAM

THE WINTER GAMES

SILVER LINING

Canada's Olympic hockey team took the silver medal, losing to the highly favored former Soviet squad in the showpiece final event of the 1992 Winter Games in the French Alps on Sunday. It was the country's best finish in Olympic hockey since a silver medal at the 1960 Games in Squaw Valley, Calif., and it provided a dramatic end to Canada's most successful Winter Games ever. — 38

SPECIAL REPORT

ARE PENSIONS SAFE?

For a quarter of a century, Canadians have relied on public and private pensions for a secure old age. Just Named and his wife, Leona Deane, are building a substantial nest egg on their own, but for many others the outlook is gloomy. And those who lose their jobs in the recession also face a bleak retirement. — 24



WORLD

SOUTHERN COMFORT

A strong showing by an Republican challenge, Patrick Buchanan, in last week's New Hampshire primary contest stunned President George Bush, once regarded as a certainty for re-election. Now, Bush must convince voters that he is capable of reviving the troubled American economy. — 18



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LETTERS

TORING THE SEXUAL ABYSS

I found the introduction to your article about sexual assault disturbing ("Chilling the senses," *Cover*, Feb. 17). You cite the case of a man who was acquitted of raping a woman because she allegedly gave him the wrong impression and consequently, according to the judge, allowed him to commit a crime. The judge appears to be sending the message that men are beasts with no social conscience and no control. I, for one, do not believe this and both men and women should be outraged when such generalizations are implied.

Carissa Korman-Galbreath
Hamilton

The line between consensual sex and violent sex would be clear if people would apply standard rules of behavior to sexual conduct. A man cannot take whatever he wants just because he wants it. Men who work in banks, for example, may be tempted by money every day but still know it is wrong to take it. They would call this theft. Set some of these same men think that a woman becomes a man's property after sharing a drink with him or going to his home, and that he has the right to overpower her if she resists sex. They call this "harassment sex." The women who have been robbed in this way call it what it is, a crime.

Lynee Simpson,
Dorchester, N.S.

I am not surprised by boxer Mike Tyson's recent rape conviction ("His word or hers?") What do you expect from a young man who was released as a 15-year-old and trained to exhibit his prowess at sexual encounters—all in the name of money, not his social development? I wonder if his beneficiaries ever taught him to be gentle, caring and loving to a woman. What they should have taught him about above all else was morals and values.

Ane-Marie Lewis,
Calgary

THE SACRED AND THE CIVIL

It is noticeable that the courts would even consider a civil suit by James Ferry, a homosexual Anglican minister, against the Anglican Church of Canada ("Sex, gays and religion," *Covers*, Feb. 17). Just as churches must have no constitutional input into the laws of the land, the laws of the land should have no power to dictate the canon of a church. This principle is more commonly known as the separation of church and state. Certainly, the inclusion of homosexuals in the canon of the church must address. But it is not a topic on which the courts are qualified to rule.

M. E. Rayner,
Mississauga, Ont.



Women's Day march: 'generations'.

In "Sex, gays and religion," you claim that the United Church of Canada General Council agreed that our church membership is "open to all committed Christians, and that all members—including practicing homosexuals—are eligible for ordination." The whole truth is more complex than that. All our members are

eligible to be considered for ordination. The process of selection and training is long and probing, and includes psychological evaluations as well as inquiry into one's faith. This may take from three to 10 years, and is not taken lightly by either the church or the candidate.

Rev. Donald E. C. McLennan,
Scottsboro, Ont.

'GYMNASTS ON ICE'

Congratulations to Brian Orser for his wonderful article about the demise of figure skating ("The power and the glory," *The Water Games*, Feb. 2). Perhaps, as Orser suggests, the sport should have retained its compulsory figures, worth 20 per cent of a skater's total score, just as we would remember that it is called *figure skating*. Now, we have gymnasts on ice. It is heart-breaking to see skaters who are lacking in technique, grace and high placements because of their jumps. The sport should be named either *Leaping of Ice: Quads and Quads, or Leaping Llamas*—anything but *figure skating*.

M. Marguerite Campbell,
Scarlett, Ont.

Letters may be included. Please supply name, address, and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the Editor. Editors will edit letters for clarity and brevity. Letters may be included. Please supply name, address, and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the Editor. Editors will edit letters for clarity and brevity.

PASSAGES

DIED: Arthur A. J. Casano, 83, the last surviving member of the Group of Seven painters, formed in 1928 in a Toronto hospital. Best known for his evocative landscapes and portraits of small Ontario towns, a food Joseph Casano was born in Toronto and began working at 14, earning \$3 a week. He was a member of the Group of Seven painters, which included A.Y. Jackson, J.E.H. MacDonald, and others. In the 1940s, his commercial assignments included covers for *Maclean's*, which paid him \$100 each. In his last years, some of his early paintings changed hands for as much as \$300,000. A very self-critical, Casano destroyed much of his early work but later expressed regret and encouraged other artists to keep everything.



Arthur A. J. Casano, 83, the last surviving member of the Group of Seven painters.

SEPARATED: Controversial sex therapist William Masters, 70, and Virginia Johnson, 67, after 21 years of marriage. Separated Masters received permission in 1974 to establish a laboratory at Washington University in which he and Johnson, over many years, observed hundreds of men and women, including prostitutes, during intercourse and masturbation. They published *Human Sexual Response* in 1966 and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* in 1970. They developed new treatments for such sexual problems as impotence and frigidity.

ENGAGED: British author Salman Rushdie, 44, after three years of life as a fugitive from his native Iran, sentenced for allegedly blaspheming the religion in his 1988 novel, *The Satanic Verses*. British police asked the media not to identify Rushdie's

brother-in-law, for security reasons. He would be Rushdie's third wife.

DIED: El Salvadorian rightist leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, 66, of throat cancer, in a San Salvador hospital. The founder of the ruling Nationalist Republican Alliance was reportedly linked to death squads that murdered thousands of people in the early 1980s. Left-wing rebels called D'Aubuisson's death "divine punishment." He died only five weeks after a formal ceasefire ended El Salvador's 12-year civil war.

CONVICTED: Former world heavyweight boxing champion Trevor Berbick, 39, in Miami, of the 1990 rape of a woman who was his family's babysitter. Berbick lost his title in 1986 to Mike Tyson, found guilty of rape 11 days earlier in Indiana.



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LETTERS

LOOKING OUT FOR NUMBER 1

David Peterson's history lesson was accurate but incomplete ("A constitutional quagmire," Letters, Feb. 30). Québec is now demanding a constitutional veto so that it can block the creation of any new provinces. Peterson is blocking a Single E Senate because it prefers consensus to democracy. If and when this country looks up, let us place the blame where it belongs: on asymmetrical federalism, which does not contain the checks and balances required to keep the politicians honest.

Augusta J. Cooper,
Edmonton

In his letter to the editor, former Ontario premier David Peterson contends that Meach Lake was a continuation of the "original, feeble, pragmatic and generous dream of our forefathers." His unspoken offering of our Ontario Senate seats without consulting anyone was all of the above. Unfortunately, it was also arrogant, arrogant and totally unrepresentative. It is a tragedy that Peterson still does not get it.

Sam Schwartz,
Ottawa

The issue of a distinct society in Québec does not concern its giving more power, but rather recognizing that the Québec society is unique. Perhaps David Peterson does not understand that Canadians debated the Meach Lake record because this concept of a "distinct society" was not explained.

Lawrence Winer,
Toronto

PROJECTILE COLUMNIST

Thank you, Allan Fotheringham, for suggesting that we read up some of the nation's most despised public figures and consign them to oblivion in outer space ("Shooting for a permanent Skyline," Column, Feb. 30, May 1). By using the first to propose that a bomb be reserved, in storage, for the snide and self-indulgent columnist himself? If the torqued Fotheringham is stored abroad, I would dearly love to push the button.

Graham Murray,
Toronto

Allan Fotheringham states that B.C. NDP MP Bernard Robinson is a "showboat." If that is not a case of the pot calling the kettle black, I do not know what is. Fotheringham is nothing if not a self-righteous snailmouth. The true snailmouth envelops with anyone or anything that smacks of Canadian accomplishment. One would guess that he would be in Rastafarian egg hair.

Robert Keller,
Belleville, Ont.



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Hillary and Bill Clinton: 'the sex factor' shapes a Democrat's political platform

LETTERS

SNATCHING THE 'JUICY DETAILS'

Politics in the United States are indeed in trouble when a publication as disreputable as a supermarket tabloid can "snatch its story" on Arkansas governor and Democratic hopeful William (Bill) Clinton ("The sex factor," *World*, Feb. 10). What is equally disturbing, however, is the retail web which most serious publications, including *Marlowe's*, snatch up all the juicy details. You rightfully assume readers to be more interested in the marital troubles of Clinton and his "most lawyer wife," Hillary, than in his political platform.

Elaine Feder
Victoria

PRESIDENTIAL ILLITERACY

I have long wondered why I find President George Bush's speeches, comments and policies so vague. The same applies to the current crop of presidential candidates. Allan Fotheringham's comments on "Why George Bush cannot write" (*Column*, Jan. 27) have finally supplied an answer.

Daniel P. Mayel
Madison, Wis.

GOOD FOR THE GANDER

After reading "Holiday with the stars" (*Columns*, Feb. 10), I realized what is at the root of our economic problems. As agreed by virtually all Canadians, a continuing cross-border spending problem plagues this country's economy. Holidaying in the southern United

States by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney for a two-week period gives us some insight into his concerns about how the issue affects him. It is not the fact that he took a holiday, but the message he conveys by taking it in the United States. His apparent motto is, "Do as I say, not as I do."

Peter J. Murphy
Punta, Ont.

COMPOUNDING DEBT

It is true that in 1984, when Brian Mulroney came to power, the public debt was \$160 billion and that today it stands around the \$400-billion mark. What P. E. Gaultier is suggesting is that when one takes a loan, the interest is added to the principal ("Sense and common-sense," *Letters*, Jan. 27). This is precisely what has happened with our national debt. The Mulroney Conservatives have done an effective job of controlling government spending.

Michael M. Kauschke
Manitowish

I read with interest the letter stating that your magazine was spreading Brian Mulroney's lies. It reminds me of all those who are calling for the elimination of the Goods and Services Tax. The Prime Minister has been trying to tell Canadians about the danger of continued annual deficits. Unfortunately, most Canadians do not understand that if the deficit is not brought under control, those who are in the 40 to 50 age-group will not be able to receive old-age security or the Canada Pension. In my opinion, you have not been spreading Mulroney's lies, but rather the truth about a very serious situation facing Canadians in the future.

Donald C. Joling
Thorn, N.S.

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OPENING NOTES

Pierre Trudeau returns to Parliament, Sonja Smits snags a divine role, and Kerrin Lee-Gartner has good vibrations

AN ANCHOR AWEIGH

CBC TV sports newsmen-interviewer Ben MacLean has often played second fiddle to stars, notably as straight man to the hyperactive Don Cherry in a commentary spot as *Hockey Night* in Canada, which he hosts. But at the Winter Olympics in France during the past two weeks, where he shared daily anchor duties and conducted a series of memorable interviews, MacLean took a first-string role. Midway through the Albertville Olympics, he was an unofficial model for verbal athleticism, including two back-to-back stammers. First, sitting up a report by the CBC's Bob Storey, who was at the bobsledding track, MacLean announced: "Now, we'll go to Bob Storey for the bobs story." Minutes later, repeating on bobby sooties conditions of security for Sochi, the cross-country skiing site that is pronounced loyoyoyoy, MacLean opened with, "Well, it's a boby, boby, Lee Sochi day of Lee Sochi." In fairness to MacLean, he promptly apologized for the first slipper and winked at the camera after the second, which was by no means his last.

MacLean: a stunning verbal Olympic performance



BY MICHAEL O'NEILL

A little divine intervention



Smits: she values it a name

Sonja Smits, a former star of CBC TV's *Street Legal*, has won the lead role as Margaret Lawrence's classic novel *The Divine*. But the decision has raised the issue of nepotism. Both Smits and Maggie Threlk, a highly respected Toronto-based actress, underwent extensive auditions

for the part. Then, in early January, the producers gave Smits a few after they were supposed to get childhood photos from her parents in Maple Creek, Sask., so that they could cast younger versions of the movie's Prairie heroine. But three weeks later, the producers at Miramax Films Ltd., the Toronto-based company producing the film, revived their decision. Overriding the Edmonton-based director, Anne Wheeler, they cast Smits, who just happens to be married to *Atlantic* vice-president Scot McEwan. Wheeler told MacLean: "My first interest is to protect the project, and anything I say at this point is not going to be very good for the film." But she added, "It wasn't the best casting experience of my life. I just want to regain the role and enthusiasm to make a what Margaret would want it to be." Responding to the

editorializing, *Atlantic* columnist Jeremy Katz said of Smits: "I don't think she should be blindfolded from *Atlantic* productions because she's married to Scot." Katz added that *Atlantic* chose Smits partly for "her auspicious title." And MacLean: "Hardly the really important name here is the beloved Margaret Lawrence (who died in 1987). One interview for her voice through all of this."

Bucak: listening for a believed voice



BY MICHAEL O'NEILL

In defence of heavy editing

Former *Saturday Night* editor Robert Pallford recently admits that an article he wrote for the Feb. 16 *New York Times* Book Review, about Toronto author Jane Jacobs' book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, was extensively edited. But he said: "There was no disagreement and lots of discussion. They are very good editors. They asked lots of questions." He added that not a word or sentence was changed without his prior approval. Pallford, 65, who has been a journalist for 43 years, says that his editing has always benefited from good editing. Bob Pallford: "I think everyone should be edited."

BOOBY TRAPS ON THE HUSTINGS

The campaign trail can be treacherous—as George Bush learned recently when, at a press conference and address in Florida, the President suggested use of computer technology that is actually more of supermarket checkout counters. And other potential candidates have learned that just down to grassroots can be rebound, invited to speak at a private home in Salem, N.H., Democratic Senator Thomas Harkin of Iowa was in his house introduced him to his rival, Nebraska's Senator Robert Kasten.



Wacky: Kasten



to that state, Kasten was interrupted by a parade of toddlers appearing by him on their way to the bathroom. Then, the rear of the Bushing hotel nearly drowned out his speech. And the children Republican Patrick Buchanan (family) his way through a ritual baby-kissing. "How do you hold them?" he demanded when someone handed him an infant. Buchanan also showed that his technical acumen is no better than Bush's. Calling at an airport store with a release of reporters to law, he picked up a cylindrical object from a counter and wondered aloud if it was a distributor cap. It was an ashtray.

Buchanan: bewildered by babies



LIVE IN AMERICA FROM FRANCE, VIA CANADA

The CBC's down-to-earth coverage of the Winter Olympics reflected kudos abroad, as well as at home. Viewers tuned in for more timely and thorough than CTV, the American Olympic network, which concentrated on unexciting taped reports in the evening hours. Many Americans tuned in the CBC to see events complete and as they happened, according to an informal survey by the daily *USA Today*. Among those viewers was Jill Swallow, an associate editor at *Time* magazine. Facing a deadline on a Feb. 18 figure skating story, she called the Canadian Consulate in New York City, which put her in touch with a company that pulled in the CBC's live coverage. Declared Swallow: "I'm indebted to the Canadians."



A familiar face

Beginning on May 1, visitors to Parliament will encounter the new official portrait of Prime Elliott Trudeau. Painted by Matthew Spence Pavell, a Victoria, B.C., artist chosen by Trudeau himself and commissioned by Public Works officials, the picture will hang next to portraits of John Diefenbaker and Lester B. Pearson in a hallway leading to the House of Commons. The spring occasion is Trudeau's place just short of eight years after Trudeau left office on June 30, 1984, but House of Commons curator Stephen Delroy says that it's not unusual. It has previously taken as long as a decade from the time their subjects left office for the portraits to appear. And although it has been 13 years since Joe Clark stepped down on March 3, 1980, after serving for some months as prime minister and his defeat by Trudeau, Delroy said that a Clark portrait will go up next.

Trudeau: back on Parliament Hill

Good vibrations

Only she and her husband knew for sure. After Canadian skier Kerrin Lee-Gartner won the gold medal in the



Lee-Gartner: trade secrets

Olympic downhill race, the *Swiss* newspaper *Blick* quoted her as saying that on the morning of her victory, "my husband, Ben, opened my eyes with a warmup under the covers. We made good vibrations for the race." But now the skier says that she did not talk to the paper, adding: "Whatever we did, it worked. I'm not going to say it's what it is this paper."



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COLUMN



A man worth getting to know

BY DUANE FRANCIS

In an Preston Manning Toronto hotel room he looks just like a Sunday school teacher with thick glasses and a gentle, thoughtful manner. Always relaxed and laid-back when we meet, there's no ridge or sag in his voice even though his politics and his party appeal to angry Canadians. Above all, Manning is not some eccentric politician, scribbling and drawing his way towards power. He is, simply, the loquacious-looking guy next door. This is, I say to myself, "Mr. Popcorn Don't Politics."

Lie on the stump is certainly not glamorous. Turning a political movement into a national party is hard work. Tonight, he will check out of the hotel, give a keynote address in a high-school auditorium in nearby Port Huron, Ont., then embark on a six-hour flight to Montreal. Some type of thing the next day and the next.

On his coffee table are notes for a speech he's covering, a stack of Reform party news releases and a manuscript from a party member outlining a proposed policy initiative. On his bed is an open baggie bag with sleeping pills and a note. Speaking on a cellular telephone, in the bathroom for privacy, is his aide, Ron Wood, a gravel-voiced ex-broadcasting. Don Manning and I laugh as Wood comes from the bathroom just as we leave. "Here you are, on the phone, on the phone," says Manning. "Lie on the road is no glamorous, eh that?"

These two are the odd couple of Canadian politics: hotshotting, over-the-hill Manning and his private life Wood, a chain-smoking media man with a secret mastery. They stay in different floors at the same hotel, Wood in a smoking section and Manning in a non-smoking area. But the combination of the two is certainly making waves. And history, in the January Manning/Dundas scandal, cost some 46 per cent of the respondents in English Canada and that they would either vote for the Reform party or consider voting for it in the next federal election, a stunning development in Canadian politics.

It is unfair to call Reform party Leader Preston Manning anti- French. In fact, he says that the prime minister should be bilingual.

Of course, one politician does not a prime minister make, but there's a growing interest in the man and his party even though both remain a mystery to most. Manning's new book, *The New Canada*, certainly lays out his philosophy in great detail. Although he will read it, many will vote Reform anyway because the name stands for what reformers-wary Canadians think the country needs.

Reform's leader is known about Manning, he is judged by academics that he is a dogmatic right-wing ideologue, or, even worse, a racist. But there's no evidence to support any of those accusations, and he simply strays off labelling. He's alert to this. As the modest son of a former Alberta Social Credit premier who dominated the legislature, he has no romantic notions about power, or how to exercise it. "I used to do my homework outside my dad's office," Manning recalls, "and he used to say, 'If you know, you'll know grading. The sound of a pen grading.'"

As a result, he has a uniquely laid-back attitude towards matters that would give most nervous or highly strung (open) politicians. Earlier, Wood emerged from the bathroom with his cellular phone and a "problem." Says Wood, chuckling: "That was The Windows Store, and it

sounds like one of our executives who was elected as a woman, but actually used to be a man. She's called the paper and says that the other members of the executive are pressuring her to resign."

Manning's smile turns into a grin and he thumps back his head as if to gather: But he doesn't, and collecting his thoughts, he seems momentarily in the issue. "The policy is that there should be no discrimination against anyone on the basis of sexual orientation," he says coolly.

Such are the growing pains in the quest to become a real party, and despite Manning's lack of political track record, he takes it all in his stride. Even better, he remembers, this type of controversy over sexual orientation strikes at the root of one of the criticisms of the Reform party—that its members are mostly white, middle-class and elderly. So does the fact that a Chinese woman is running for a Reform party nomination in British Columbia without any problem whatsoever from the executive.

"You that's been very helpful," he says. "Her last name is Hu and she told me that if she gets the nomination her motto will be 'No Cares.' She also said to me, 'Have you met my husband, Joe?' She certainly has good sense of humor."

Another man ran up about Manning to let him know. Interestingly, he said during our discussion that he believes a prime minister of Canada should speak both French and English. "If Quebec is in Canada, the prime minister should be able to communicate with as many people as possible," he explains.

So, I ask, is he taking French lessons or thinking of recommending a decision not to field any candidates in Quebec? Manning explains that he understands French, but speaks it very fluently and would need time to break up his skills. "I'm kind of on these days," he says, "and I won't jump from being uneducated to being prime minister overnight."

As for Quebec candidates, he says that the Reform party would require in that province if there was a grassroots demand for it to do so. So far, that's not the case. "We are taking a look at the top of the hill," he says, "but we're not in a position to run only even though we are concerned about their rights."

There is even speculation that the Reform party can join with the federal Tories, the Liberals, and the New Democrats, or even a merger will take place. "It depends upon whether the Conservative party is coming along," he adds. "It would be most to be better to a corpse. The Bloc Québécois is eating into its own in Quebec. We are too. The PCs are looking better, and we'll recover."

What makes Manning run in a small conservative, free-enterprise and a more responsible democratic system. Nevertheless, Manning has a long-term plan. Reformers say he's the savior in a way. "To the rest of us, he's simply a mess. Reformers with newly pulled support. But they're not all. Like the arm outstretched on the black, Preston Manning is someone we must, like it or lump it, get to know a great deal better."



Berezansky and Grade 12 students feignings of 'despair, frustration and even cynicism' about the constitutional crisis

CANADA

WITHOUT QUEBEC

The students in William Berezansky's Canadian high-school history classes call it "brainstorming." But it is much more than that. The Grade 10 and 12 classes in Oak Bay, B.C., a suburb of Victoria, held regular discussions about Canada's future—discussing, which, Berezansky says, they vent feelings of "despair, frustration and even cynicism" about the country's constitutional crisis. "They want Canada to continue," the teacher adds. "They do not want it to break up." But the students do not stop there. Like a real but growing number of Canadians, they also put their minds to brooding on what their teacher calls "new political realities"—including

MANY CANADIANS ARE PONDERING A POSSIBLE FUTURE IN A FRACTURED AND FRAGILE HOMELAND

ing the possibility of a Canada without Quebec. Says Berezansky: "It's just an automotive topic with the kids. They say that if it must happen, then perhaps it will even be good."

But many Canadians, the concept of Canada without Quebec is unfathomable. Some, like University of Toronto historian Desmond Morton, view the prospect of the country's separation as a real "alays of horrors." But on matters the past of ours, there is an emerging consensus that the debate about Canada's future without Quebec is healthy for the country as a whole.

"The process of self-definition that we are going through is not a bad one," says Marc Ferro, a political scientist at Simon Fraser

University in Burnaby, just east of Vancouver, who recently completed a 30-page study of English Canada's future titled *Thinking About the Rest of Canada*. Adds Ferro: "It's like a slap in the face when you're going into hysterics. It's painful, but possibly salutary."

Most such discussions focus primarily on the question of Canada's political viability without Quebec: would the remaining nine provinces hold together, or would English Canada fragment and possibly fall into the embrace of the United States? But the prospect of separation raises a host of other issues, as well. They include the possibility of changes to existing provincial boundaries; reforms to institutions such as the House of Commons, the Senate and the Supreme Court of Canada; and major amendments to the 1982 Constitution and international agreements like the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

In addition, the entire political complexion of the country would change. Parties with a strong Quebec base, like the Conservatives and Liberals, would likely become less of a national force in Canada that does not include Quebec. But the New Democrats and the Reform party, entities of which can count on much support from Quebecers, would gain in proportion to the national parties.

Other politicians and opinion leaders publicly avoid speculating on Canada without Que-

bec, arguing that such discussions are, at least for the present, misguided and unwelcome. They point out that under a law passed last June, the Quebec government is committed to holding a provincial referendum on the province's place in Confederation by Oct. 20—and that Canadians should avoid affecting the debate at such a crucial time in the nation's history. Says Daniel Dache, a political scientist at Toronto's York University: "People talk a lot of nonsense. I think this is very low reasoning and weak tactics. The real issue is the new relationship. There has to be a new kind of association."

For Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, a Quebecer who has achieved two successive majorities partly as a result of sweeping his home province, the prospect of losing a country of only English-speaking provincers is clearly a political nightmare. "I really don't have time to contemplate it," Mulroney said at a Feb. 13 news conference in Barrie, Ont. He added: "I'm not comfortable answering that question—I'm trying to avoid that matter arising."

Indeed, the subject has aroused so little official attention that there is not even a casually agreed term in the Canadian political lexicon to describe Canada without Quebec.

For their part, many observers have reacted to the acronym TROC, short for "The Rest of Canada." And in spite of the official silence on the issue, some analysts are beginning to actively confront the possibility of a Canada that does not include Quebec. Among them is University of Toronto political scientist Rex Wintler. In a recent compilation of essays about English Canada's future, "Would a Canada-without-Quebec be such an unthinkable alternative to an unacceptable deal made on Quebec's terms? We have never tried it before, so we can hardly render a definitive negative judgment." Two University of Calgary politicians, historian David Brown and political scientist Barry Cooper, have led the chorus of those calling for a public debate about the future of English Canada—on its own, in their controversial book, *Overlaid: English Canada Without Quebec*, published early last year. The two men go so far as to advocate sovereignty for Quebec: "At one time, we thought Quebec and Canada could exist as a single country," the authors write. "But no more. In simple and direct terms, we are very much in favour of independence."

Quebec: Can we be sure? We walk to regard Quebec as a foreign state, like Spain or

bec, arguing that such discussions are, at least for the present, misguided and unwelcome. They point out that under a law passed last June, the Quebec government is committed to holding a provincial referendum on the province's place in Confederation by Oct. 20—and that Canadians should avoid affecting the debate at such a crucial time in the nation's history. Says Daniel Dache, a political scientist at Toronto's York University: "People talk a lot of nonsense. I think this is very low reasoning and weak tactics. The real issue is the new relationship. There has to be a new kind of association."

National Notes

DISAPPEARING COD

East Coast fishermen, already suffering from depleted fish stocks, will likely have their bad quotas reduced as a result of a recent scientific study which warns that Atlantic cod stocks are in worse shape than previously thought. Federal Fisheries Minister John Grier, who presided over the news earlier in this week, blamed part of the problem on foreign overfishing.

MILWAUKEE'S SENTENCE

Quebec Superior Court Justice Benjamin Gauthier sentenced Malwarek Wawaneh (Lassagne) Cross and Gordon (Ossage) Lussier for their roles in the armed crash at Oka, Ont., during the summer of 1990. Cross received a seven-year term of four years and four months on 15 charges—including aggravated assault—while Lussier received a 23-month sentence on five charges. Both men pleaded an appeal of their convictions.

SECOND THOUGHTS

A new poll by the Montreal-based ORC polling organization shows that support for Quebec sovereignty continues to slip. From a high of 64 per cent in November, 1990, support for independence dropped to 52 per cent last September. The latest ORC survey, conducted between Feb. 13 and 16, suggests that 46 per cent of Quebecers now favor sovereignty.

BACK TO JAIL

David Milgaard was returned to prison in Winnipeg after an unannounced five-hour absence from an Ottawa halfway house. Milgaard had been attempting to escape Supreme Court of Canada hearings to determine whether his 1969 conviction for the murder of Saskatoon nurse Gail Miller had been a miscarriage of justice. Meanwhile, the court heard dramatic and conflicting testimony about whether Milgaard had confessed to the killing.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The Federal Court of Appeal struck down a section of the Canada Elections Act that prohibited provinces in federal and provincial jobs from voting in national elections.

THE SEARCH FOR POLICY

Last night's two-hour Jan. Christmas special on party's national conference against the growth of single-issue pressure groups—especially anti-shortcuts. About 2,400 Liberal federalists gathered in Hull, Que., for the first-party policy conference, the party's first national meeting since 1988 when it elected leader in June, 1990.

Alaska or Borneo or the United States."

Bernard and Cooper agree that Canada would not only survive but flourish once Canadians put behind them "the endless disputes caused by a large province that is steering the real priorities of our nation." They write that "After the separation of Quebec, Canadians will intend next to maintain Canada," and will "pull together in the future even more than they have in the past because they will have had ample evidence from their respective provincial leaders." But so far, their public statements have had the opposite effect. In an interview with *Maclean's*, Cooper acknowledged that he

would rescue from Canada one of the principal features of its identity. He also claimed that a Canada without Quebec could lose its membership in the Group of Seven, the experience of the world's leading industrial nations.

Another potential problem created by the prospect of Canada changing the date of the Free Trade Agreement. In the event of a national breakup, either says, the United States might well press to re-negotiate the pact on terms more favorable to Washington, noted Richter. "The new leaders the Americans in turn choose to support a better deal for themselves." Given a midrange political map north of the border, he adds, "they would have grounds."

Other problems may be more open to address. Ian Stewart, a political scientist at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., points to other models for English Canada besides Pakistan. "What about Alaska?" he says, noting that the northern U.S. state cut itself off from the rest of the U.S. mainland by British Columbia. Declared Stewart, "Alaska works. Sure, it's possible." He adds that at a time when trade barriers are coming down around the world, the shipment of goods between Eastern and Western Canada "would be one of the simpler options."

Another option for Canada without Quebec would be to abolish provincial allegiances, and instead establish a strong central government or devolve more power to local levels of authority. But for most Canadians, the challenge of reworking a nation without Quebec, regardless of its form and political content, would be a dismal undertaking. The Reform party, for one, advocates a new Canada in which, among other things, all regions are entitled to equal status. The party's 1992 policy statement claims that if such provinces are rejected, "Quebec and the rest of Canada should consider whether there exists a better political arrangement."

But even Stephen Harper, the Reform party's chief director, says, "We don't view any of this as desirable—we view us serious talking about it." Adds Canada's Stewart: "There are likely to be substantial costs for both sides. The only winners are the divorce lawyers."

Still, as the nation comes down to a Quebec referendum that is no more than eight months away, the prospect of a latter national divide will seem ever larger in the minds of Canadians. And if the world's two oldest sovereign nations choose to end, the concept of a Canada that does not include Quebec—unacceptable to some—might in fact become between-time political reality.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa



Normand: a divided Canada without Quebec might fracture

British Columbia would gain a country in which Ontarians could be the half the population? I can see a very distinct possibility that they would be looking to follow a separate course."

Jean-Michel Lacroix, director of the Centre for Canadian Studies at the University of Paris, agrees that the most pressing obstacle for a Canada without Quebec "would be the physical fragmentation." Westerners, Lacroix says, "might feel more alienated and be brought to live on their own white, I suppose, British Columbia would turn even more towards Asia and the Mediterranean would be isolated." Although Lacroix doubts that most English-Canadian would choose to join the United States, he cautioned that the loss of Quebec



McFarland (left) at farm show in Vulcan; a sharing of traditional party lines

Fragile loyalties

Liberals and Tories embrace the Reform agenda

The 300 farmers who gathered at a farm-machinery show in Vulcan, Alta., last week had more to their minds than the past of tractors. Like other residents of the sprawling southern Alberta provincial oil-belt, they face an uncertain future in the March 5 provincial by-election. For 28 years, and through eight provincial elections, the ruling has been the personal fiefdom of Raymond Spivey, a local grain farmer and teacher who ran under the banner of three different right-of-centre parties during that

time: the United Farmers, the United Farmers of Alberta, and the United Farmers of Canada.

Those coalitions are considerable. An Angus Reid Group survey released on Feb. 22 showed that 44 per cent of declared voters in Alberta would support Reform in a federal election, compared with 27 per cent for the Liberals, 34 per cent for the New Democratic Party and 11 per cent for the Tories. But Reform has already exerted its influence on Alberta politics last month, Getty endorsed two key Reform

candidates—

denominations—and to reformed official bilingualism and federally financial contributions—as a counterweight and widely quoted speech. Meanwhile, Alberta Liberal leader Lawrence

Deane has paired his party in the right wing among the leadership in 1986. Among other things, Deane has

criticized on the provincial government to balance its budget

and to allow more free votes

in the legislature—two other

staples of Reform philosophy.

The blurring of traditional

party lines is nowhere more

evident than in Little Bow.

The Tories' McFarland op-

erated a 1,105-acre grain farm near the town of

Comstock in the central part of the riding.

Liberal candidate Graham, meanwhile, helps

her husband, John, run a 3,500-acre mixed

farm near Vulcan, about 50 km north of

McFarland's place. Former classmates at

Vulcan High School, and casual acquaintances

ever since, McFarland, 43, and Graham, 40,

were both staunch supporters of Spivey, who

served as the riding's Social Credit M.P. from

1965 until 1984, when he ran as an

independent. Spivey won the riding again in

1986 as a member of the short-lived Represen-

tative Party, and in 1990 as a Conservative.

For the past three years, McFarland and

Graham have both served as trustees of Alberta

farm directors for the Reform party.

In fact, the close dating pact between the

two candidates appears to be which of them

adheres most closely to Reform orthodoxy.

Declares McFarland: "I am right-wing, socially

conservative. Just like the Reform party."

For his part, Graham says that about it, "right-

wing on the economy, but more moderate on

education and social services." Graham, who

joined the Liberal party after meeting Deane

in Edmonton last month, added that she was

struck by the way that the Liberal leader's

devotion for government authority resembled

those of federal Reform leader Preston Manning.

But McFarland expresses skepticism

about his opponent's sudden conversion. Says

McFarland: "I have trouble understanding how

you can be a Reformist one moment and be

a Liberal the next."

Still, Graham, who claims to have joined the

conservatism through 35 years of service with

local firms and women's groups, is clearly

bringing his own Liberal party's official

campaign. With Spivey as their candidate in

1990, the Reform party's influence, winning

79.5 per cent of the vote, compared with 11.7

per cent for the Liberals and 8.4 per cent for

the NDP. However, a total of 500 constituencies

taken over for the Feb. 18 and 19 elections that

included Graham in December, the party

had only 18 per cent of the vote in the 1988

Vulcan-area three-way race. Macdonald in typical

of the new converts. "Three years ago, you

would never have put me even close to a

Liberal election," Houston told Macdonald.

But the Liberal party's platform now

embraces Reform's "no open government

and action on the deficit."

The Liberals are clearly hoping to build on

that perception—as well as the tradition of

electors to vote against the governing party in

by-elections—to ride to victory in Little Bow.

"The Reform party is a political movement, not

a philosophy," says Alberta's oil and natural

gas leader Nick Taylor. "We want that

protest vote." In fact, Kromberg's long-stated

goal has been to broaden Reform's base of

support by attracting followers from all three

of the main traditional parties, the Tories, the

NDP and the Liberals. But by-election results

show by-election results, the old political

alignments, in Alberta at least, are rapidly

breaking down.

The blurring of traditional

party lines is nowhere more

evident than in Little Bow.

The Tories' McFarland op-



Moscowites striding through the Arbat district: life goes on despite hard times

Letter from Moscow

Life beyond the lineups

At Moscow's 1,370-seat Star movie theatre, audiences lined up to see the 1994 Hollywood science-fiction film *The Terminator*. On radio, local disc jockeys played the latest songs by native rock bands Black Coffee and Time Machine. And the city's five art museums avoided some of its denting new acquisitions. That small sampling of activity was part of daily life last week in Moscow, a sprawling home to 8.5 million people who, through news reports in the outside world, sometimes appears as nothing more than a run-down place of widespread shortages and looming chaos. Despite the hardships of everyday life, Moscowites do more than forage for food. Many find time for activities that range from attending fashion shows to cross-country skiing in parks. And last week, scores of couples dined in their best clothes publicly displaying a personal optimism about the future they got married. Just 31-year-old Tatiana Sobennikova is the bridegroom, 30, her husband of 20 minutes. "Times arrived. But life goes on—and we are in love."

Marriage registrations have remained fairly constant across Russia in recent years. But in a country where young couples are often forced to share a flat with one set of parents, successful marriages are a challenge. Moscow authorities recorded 85,060 marriages in 1991, but another

43,308 couples split up during the same period. Still, in the red-capped halls of Wedding Palace No. 1 in central Moscow last week, a constant procession of wedding parties lined up for a hard-earned ceremony. Brides and grooms loudly rejected any suggestion that they should have postponed the big day until easier stable times. "My fiancé says that getting married now is no act of heroism," said Vladimir Belikov, a 28-year-old radio technician. "But I believe that the spiritual side of life is always more important than economics."

Still, the signs of hard times were apparent inside Wedding Palace No. 1, the pre-revolutionary mansion where, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, a string of quarter-saloon couples into married life in the opulent bars of the Wedding March. When Tatiana Sobennikova exchanged vows with her corporate husband, the slim, brown-eyed nurse wore a traditional—and expensive—white wedding dress. Like many Russians, she subscribes to the belief that getting married is a settled-down status bad luck. But there were no pre-wedding toasts among the 10 friends and relatives who accompanied the couple to the hall. At 180 rubles per bottle, or about 14 per cent of an average Moscowite's monthly wage, locally made champagne is just too expensive for many families.

The hotel ceremony itself, conducted by a young female official in a

blue formal gown, took place in an airy room illuminated by a crystal chandelier suspended from the high ceiling. In the only symbol of the former Communist era, a banner-and-oxide brass plaque hung on the wood-paneled walls. Formal registration of their marriage cost the Sobenniks 200 rubles (the equivalent of about \$2), and the Sobenniks said that their week-long honeymoon would be at an average Moscow apartment. The young couple also paid a photographer and/or videographer to record the event on videotape. After the wedding, they and their friends crowded around a television set in the foyer, taking longer to watch themselves as tape than to look to carry out the actual ceremony. Reluctantly, they tore themselves away from the tape of their wedding without paying an additional 500 rubles to purchase the cassette. Neither they nor their parents own a VCR.

Another landmark in central Moscow, the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum, also continues to operate through hard times. Named in honor of Alexander Pushkin, Russia's national poet, it is an elegant structure of marble columns. Although adult admission costs only three rubles, the museum recorded a 16-per-cent drop in attendance last year: that is still drew about 1.5 million visitors to exhibits that include a fine collection of French Impressionist art, Ilya Andreievich, the museum's director for the past 31 years, is now seeking private sponsors to maintain the institute's extensive program of art courses, research projects and special events. Although the cash-strapped Russian government has pledged to continue serving the museum's daily operations, state funding for such special events as classical music concerts faded away with Soviet communism. "Culture and art are basic to our lives," said the museum's Andreievich. The Pushkin cannot show all the latest acquisitions, she added, but "we can show a selection without worrying about political interference or ideological constraints."

One fight up from Andreievich's wood-paneled office, a group of parents and children listened to a lecture (interpreted) Vincent van Gogh's *The Prisoners' Room*. Andreievich expressed pride in maintaining such weekly art appreciation courses at affordable rates. The museum is a backbone from the old system of state support. But that backing also encouraged a stifling brand of socialist realism, which did not weaken until reformer Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985. Even now, at a time of post-communism in Russia, Andreievich said that she still prefers the fruits of socialism to the rigidity of bourgeois conservatism. "In the past, we would never have been able to display works by such top-grade Russian painters as Ilya Repin," she said. "The director [of the museum] is not a person of my generation."

Elena Koptseva, 35, is one parent who regularly visits the Pushkin museum with her children. Koptseva, a well-dressed English teacher, acknowledged that she and her husband, a foreign-service officer, worry constantly about the high price of food and other consumer goods. She constantly worries about her spare time, which doubles the 1,800-ruble monthly salary she receives from her post at a local college in Ontario, Canada, the equivalent of her yearly salary would be about \$1,200. "I am extremely glad that my children will grow up under another system," she said, glancing towards her sons, six-year-old Vladimir and four-year-old Irina. "We no longer have to live double lives—one public and one private. Now we can simply live."

And after visiting the Pushkin museum last week, one of Koptseva's

roommates at first cheer was to take her kids to McDonald's, another Moscow attraction. With french fries and a vanilla milkshake costing 36 rubles each and a Big Mac weighing in at a hefty—by Moscow standards—44 rubles, many Russians have curtailed their visits to the restaurant. As a result, the lines of customers that once filed between crowded tables outside the fast-food chain around Pushkin Plaza have vanished. Inside, however, patrons must still squeeze for recently vacated places among the outlet's 700 seats.

There, in an unlikely setting that combines fast-food efficiency with the taste and bustle of a bazaar, one of the city's charms flickers over the crowded tables, easy conversation. At neighboring chairs near a stylized linen pole line, two strangers discovered that they, like many other Moscowites, regularly visit a nearby outdoor swimming pool that is open year-round because its water is heated to at least 27°C. Tatyana Karmolova, a 24-year-old concert-hall technician, almost let her boyfriend or grave cold as he discussed the pool's future with Gerga Aizis, a



Newlyweds in Moscow's Red Square: displaying a personal optimism

woman perhaps twice her age, who was in the restaurant for the first time.

There was no disagreement between Karmolova and Aizis about the future of the poolside. Both of them knew that it had once been occupied by the 19th-century Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, Russia's largest Orthodox church. But in 1932, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin had the cathedral demolished as the first step towards building a godless superpower. That planned Palace of the Soviets tower rose above ground because Stalin's engineers could not design a way to anchor the massive building in the swampy soil. Instead, 28 years after the Communists seized one of Russia's most important cathedrals, they replaced it with one of the world's largest swimming pools.

But while Karmolova supported a Russian Orthodox plan to rebuild the cathedral on the pool site, Aizis, a lifelong Communist, countered that such a proposal would mean the loss of a recreational center used regularly by thousands of people. "I am not against restoring the church," she said, "but let it be rebuilt nearby." The two strangers parted amicably. But their disagreement underscored the cautious changes faced by the new Russia as it struggles to emerge from the ruins of the old.

MALCOLM GRAY is in Moscow

A deadly exchange

Arab-Israeli clashes threaten peace talks

The sun had just risen over the Golan Heights when the 17 Israeli Merkava tanks, accompanied by 300 infantrymen and helicopter gunships, rumbled northward across the 12-km-deep strip of Lebanese territory that the Israelis established as a buffer zone seven years ago. To the left, Hezbollah and Puma troops of the United Nations peacekeeping force policed the border from inside Lebanese proper; Israeli military activity in the zone was not uncommon. But when it became apparent that the oncoming Israelis did not intend to stop at the frontier, the UN soldiers hastily blocked the road with armored personnel carriers. Israeli helicopters smashed the vehicles aside, and while Israeli aid on troops became embroiled in a firefight, the tanks drove on northward to engage Iranian-backed Hezbollah (Party of God) guerrillas in a day-long battle. The action Feb. 20 left two Israeli soldiers, seven guerrillas and two civilians dead, and at least 34 people, including four peacekeepers, caught in the crossfire, wounded.

That deadly strike climaxed a week of military and political skirmishing between Israel and Arabs that threatened to derail shaky Middle East peace talks. The 70-member Palestinian delegation to those talks, already scorned by Israel at two of its members since January, threatened heavily to stay away from this week's resumption of negotiations in Washington after the Israeli side failed to let an additional four delegates leave the occupied West Bank for Jordan. The Palestinians continued their journey only when the U.S. state department agreed to intervene. At the same time, a Jordanian official said that all the Arab states would remain in the continued participation if nothing was accomplished at the scheduled fourth round of the talks. Moreover, and last week's shelling, threats and reconstructions, Israelis prepared for an election campaign whose outcome may influence whether Israel and her Arab neighbors finally achieve peace.

The Israeli drive into Lebanon to take positions held by Hezbollah guerrillas who had

been blasting Jewish settlements in northern Israel with Katyusha rockets. Those attacks were reprisals for the assassination of Hezbollah leader Sheik Abbas Musawi, who was killed on Feb. 16, along with his wife and two-year-old son, when Israeli helicopter gunships blasted his convoy in the southern Lebanese village of Taftak. Some observers questioned the tan-

king of the assault on Musawi, saying as it did just eight days before the scheduled resumption of the Washington peace talks. But Yossi Glesner, director of the Israel Government Press Office, defended the action. "When we attack the enemies of peace," he said, "we are enforcing the peace process."

The invasion four days later provoked a rash reaction. In Egypt, presidential adviser Osama Ban denounced the assault as an obstruction to peace talks. The Iranian response, broadcast by Tehran Radio, was that there would be no peace so long as Israel was "supported by the international terrorism of the United States." But U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that the violence "just demonstrates how important the peace talks are." After the Israeli withdrawal 24 hours later, the guerrillas rocketed again, killing a five-year-old girl in northern Israel.

The outcome of the Washington peace

talks—in such topics as an Israeli withdrawal from lands captured in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories—may heavily influence the agenda for a regular meeting of Arab League foreign ministers on March 16. Some Arab leaders are said to fear that prolonged discussions with the Israelis that do not produce tangible results would create domestic opposition to the whole peace process.

And those concerns, Israelis feared for a potentially fatal election campaign. The opposition Labour Party elected Yitzhak Rabin, 68, a former prime minister, defence minister and army general, to lead it into the June general election against Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's right-wing Likud party. Unlike the head-line 70-year-old Shamir, Rabin accompanied to make territorial concessions and to freeze Israeli settlements in the West Bank at



UN peacekeepers in south Lebanon righting vehicle bulldozed by Israeli troops: condemnation

entire for a lasting peace with the Arabs. At the same time, Rabin has taken a tougher stance on defense than his predecessor, Shimon Peres. Israeli political pundit Hersh Shon said that Rabin would bring Lebanon between 10 and 15 per cent more votes than Peres—clearly improving the party's chances of forming the next government. Said Smith, "Labour is now headed by a candidate who has broad popular support."

Among Israel's few warring citizens, peace enjoys smaller backing. Smith said that a poll in January revealed that 60 per cent of the respondents were ready to trade territory for an end to the fighting, provided that the Jewish state's security was guaranteed. After 44 years of war and reconstructions, it was a sentiment not difficult to understand.

PAUL CORRELLA with ERIC SKINNER in Jerusalem and correspondence reports

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Are Pensions Safe?

WHY CANADIANS CANNOT COUNT ON GOVERNMENT TO SECURE A GOLDEN RETIREMENT

Jeffrey Mills is only 24 years old, but he is getting ready to retire. Mills, who is studying for his master of business administration degree at Dalhousie University in Halifax, started contributing to a registered retirement savings plan (RRSP) four years ago. And he plans to continue those contributions, despite his irregular income in a part-time office worker. The reason for his disciplined savings plan is straightforward: Mills does not trust the backbone of Canada's retirement account system, the 26-year-old Canada Pension Plan, to provide for his old age. "I don't even think about the CRR being there when I retire," said Mills, adding, "The thought of being 65 without much income is pretty scary."

Mills' apprehension is clearly justified. By the time he reaches retirement age in 2023, most pension experts predict that much of the safety net that Ottawa provides for the retired may be in tatters. The contractions of these programs, the Canada Pension Plan—created in 1966—has not reversed the billions of dollars working Canadians and their employers have contributed to it to build a fund capable of supporting the pensions that taxpayers expect to receive on retirement. Instead, it relies on the willingness of future generations of wage

workers to contribute to the plan at more than twice the current rate, to keep up with its obligations.

At the same time, the other two legs of Canada's three-part retirement security system are only threatened and diminishing—support for most Canadians. Although Old Age Security is paid to all Canadians over the age of 65, it currently provides recipients with less than \$360 a month—far from enough, by most, to live on. The federal Guaranteed Income Supplement, meanwhile, is available only to the poor. To Paul Sturt, secretary of Royal Trust's mutual fund division, the looming danger of a generation without an adequate income for retirement is evident—and disgusting. Said Sturt, "The system is bankrupt. Nobody under 30 today will ever collect Old Age Security and CRR benefits unless they are delusional."

Pressure In fact, the mounting pressure on the CRR has already forced Ottawa and the provincial governments that share its administration (Québec operates its own plan) to boost employee contributions to the plan. Under a new contribution schedule that came into effect in January, deductions from paycheques for persons 40 to 64 per cent of earnings from 4.6 per cent in December. That small rise, however,

only leads to the increases to come. Even without further changes, the existing schedule calls for rates to more than double within the next two decades—essentially requiring every worker to pay 13 per cent of each individual taxpayer's earnings.

The looming gap between what Canadians expect to receive from the pension plan and what that plan can afford to pay will obviously strain the budgets of elderly retirees. As the cost of supporting the plan rises, it may also strain the social bonds between retirees and the young workers who will be expected to make up any CRR shortfall by paying more into the plan than they will be able to collect later in benefits. Already, a few young Canadians are expressing concerns about the bills they are going to have to pick up for their elders' retirement. Said Jason Ford, a 30-year-old University of British Columbia microbiology major from Vancouver: "I don't think there will be an old-CRR revolt. But if things don't change, will my generation refuse to pay their taxes?"

Most alarming of all, however, are the consequences for the growing numbers of Canadians who will retire in the next 30 years. Unless they are lucky enough to have been longtime members of employer-sponsored pension

plans, or unless they have contributed regularly to their own tax-deferred plans, their retirement age may prove to be more constrained than the golden period of carefree leisure to which most people aspire.

According to many experts, the seeds of the looming pension crisis were sown when the original designers introduced the CRR, along with the Québec Pension Plan, more than two decades ago in response to concerns about the number of elderly people living in poverty. The federal and provincial finance ministers at the day agreed to create the CRR as an accident-prone savings plan—in effect using the current contributions of workers to pay benefits immediately to the retired. Even then, many experts stated that that approach would lead to a widening gap between what the plan took in and what it was obliged to pay out. The country's leaders, however, left it to future governments to order the huge increases in contributions that would be required to close the gap.

But as the population bulge of Canadians born between 1945 and 1960—the postwar baby boom—ages, the firms in the plan's original design are becoming more difficult to ignore. In 1990, about one Canadian in nine was over the age of 65. Within 30 years, that figure will rise to one in four. As a result, there will be proportionately fewer young Canadians working and contributing the money that the CRR will need to pay the pensions that the members of the baby boom generation will expect to collect after they retire. Says James Clave, a Toronto actuary who has followed the plan's erosion: "As long as Canadians will continue paying more and more money, the CRR

will continue." But, he adds, "whether they do or not, your guess is as good as mine."

If they do not, the choices facing future governments will be stark. If future generations of voters reject higher contributions as politically unacceptable, governments will be forced to dramatically raise the plan's payouts. Predicted Robert Brown, 42, a professor of actuarial and statistical sciences at Ottawa's University of Waterloo and the author of *Retirement Security in an Aging Population*. "Personally, I believe that something called the Canada Pension Plan might be there when I retire. However, I think that it will likely be heavily taxed or that the benefits will be paid right back." Other pension experts share Brown's view that in the shortage of funds necessary, the federal government will whittle away at the CRR until essentially only the truly destitute will collect benefits.

Warning: For its part, the current federal government publicly dismisses such predictions. Says Alan Roy, a special assistant to Minister Visina, the Conservative minister of state responsible for senior citizens: "Canadian values their health care and their social safety-net programs, and that includes the CRR. If they are asked to make larger contributions, they will." Added Roy: "I don't sense that it is a problem now and I don't foresee one. The plan calls for gradual increases and I don't see any reason in the near future."

That gradual outlook may become hard to maintain, however, as the pressure to extract ever larger sums from working Canadians in order to sustain CRR benefits mounts. Indeed, the state may quickly prove politically implo-

JACK HARVEST, 38, and LEONA DECAUPE, 37, are grandparents in their 20s. At 37, he is a CRR member.

Decaupe now spends most of her time at home with the couple's two children, limiting her own retirement income to about \$355,000. Five of her grand-nieces, who have contributed the maximum amount to their RRSP, which is administered by National's FIF, giving them a total of about \$60,000. However, Harvest says that he and his wife can afford to set aside only about \$8,000 for 1991, or about 60 per cent of the higher 2000 limit now in effect. But so, Harvest says he expects to retire at age



63 with an \$800,000 net worth. But he adds that factors including inflation and interest rates may eat away at the true value of his savings. Jack Harvest: "It seems too good to be true—that is an astounding number."

ESTIMATED MONTHLY RETIREMENT INCOME \$13,803

FORECAST REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN LIFESTYLE \$11,958

REVENUE AND FINANCIAL EDITORS
MARCH/APRIL 1991

Business Notes

A FARMER'S CRUSADE

A Canadian delegation led to swap European Community officials who are demanding that Canada open its market for less products to writer to Montreal competition. Some 30,000 farmers demonstrated in Ottawa to underscore the urgency of their demands for increased agricultural protection, a position for which Prime Minister Brian Mulroney expressed "sincere sympathy."

INFLATION HITS NEW LOW

Statistics Canada reported that Canada's annual inflation rate hit a 21-year low of 1.6 per cent in January—down from 3.4 per cent in December and 6.6 per cent in January 1981. The agency said that the low figure reflects a weak economy and the working-off of effects of the inflation of the CRR last year.

WAGE HIKES SLIP

Economists predict that high unemployment and low inflation pressures for annual wage settlements last year. Federal labor department officials said that wages rose by an average of 3.4 per cent under 1991 contracts, slipping to 2.5 per cent in the last quarter of the year.

FABRIC-MAKER SUELS JOBS

A spokesman for Canada's largest textile manufacturer, Duromatic Textile Inc. of Montreal, announced that it will close two mills over the next six months at Long Sault, Que., and St-Timothée, Que., eliminating 624 jobs. Duromatic, which sold \$128 million in sales for the year ended on June 30, 1991, has notified the government of the layoffs in Canadian textile sales.

AIR CANADA HIRES AMERICAN

Air Canada chairman Claude Taylor announced the appointment of U.S. airline executive Robin Harris to replace him as president and chief executive officer. Harris, 60, is a former chairman of non-union Continental Airlines and a former president of Delta Air Lines. At the time of his appointment, Air Canada announced a \$218-million loss for 1990.

A PROFITABLE WAR

The Pension Golf War generated at least \$150 million in report sales for Canadian companies and consultants, according to a recently published study by Peter C. Gordon, finance editor of the *Montreal* daily newspaper *Le Devoir*. The federal government's Canadian Commercial Corp. often acted as broker in sales of a wide range of products with both military and civilian applications, including laser optical systems for satellites—Coulson reports.

are in the vanguard between those who benefit most from the CPP and those who contribute most to the plan because increasingly evident. The big winners in that equation, says Brown, are those who are already receiving CPP benefits. The actuary says that anyone who has retired in the 25 years since the plan was introduced will take far more out of it than they paid into it—as much as seven times more, in the case of someone who was born in 1920 and retired in 1945 after working throughout his life. That is because these workers contributed to the plan for only a portion of their careers, but are drawing full benefits from it now that they have retired. By contrast, and assuming that the CPP continues to operate in the future as it does now, a Canadian born in the year 2000 can expect to get back only about 50 cents for every dollar that he paid into the plan, a result of contributing for longer and at higher rates than previous generations—and of the burden of supporting legions of retired baby boomers. Said Brown: "That next generation is going to be asked to make contributions that will significantly exceed the benefits they can ever hope to receive from the CPP."

Solutions: Among actuaries and other experts in retirement planning, those looking crystal have prepared a flurry of proposals to reform the CPP before it collapses under the combined weight of a growing number of retirees and a proportionately shrinking body of working contributors. Toronto actuary Clark, for one, calls the plan a form of "cynical-down-sell," in which Ottawa pays the highest benefits to those who need it least. In fact, because CPP benefits—like contributions—are pegged to a recipient's income before retirement, the plan pays higher benefits to those who have larger incomes after they stop working pretty—well, who, as a result, should benefit less from this retirement. By contrast, Clark noted that workers who started lower income during their careers receive lower CPP payments, even though they are probably a great deal richer than those with higher incomes. As one of the poorest groups in society, elderly women who did not hold regular jobs during their working years, do not qualify for CPP at all under the present rules. Said Clark: "I do not think Canadians would choose to spend their tax dollars helping the well-off retire than the truly poor, if they really understood how the system works."

For its part, the National Council of Welfare, an Ottawa-based group that advocates the measure of health and welfare on income relative to social welfare, has proposed a solution for both the inequities of the CPP and its underfunding. The council wants Ottawa to calculate individual contributions not only on the first \$22,000 of a person's income, as it now does, but on all of a taxpayer's earnings, with no maximum. The council also has called for a faster phase-in of much higher contribution rates. In its view, by the year 2030 individuals should be contributing 20 per cent of their income to the CPP. Those amounts are drastically higher than the current contribution rate of 4.6 per cent for individuals, and even higher than the contribu-

ALEXANDER SCOTT, 31, is a Calgary construction worker and part-time musician.

In recent years, Scott, who is single, has earned close to \$20,000 annually. But because few employers in the volatile construction industry have pension plans, he has not set aside any money for his retirement, apart from his Canada Pension Plan contributions. "I am not worried about saving money right now," he said. But he added: "There is no future in this. I'm thinking of going back to school to learn something else."



ESTIMATED MONTHLY RETIREMENT INCOME: \$6,978
FORECAST REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN LIFESTYLE: \$9,083

ANDREW HASEGAWA, 21, is a Montreal dentist.

He and his wife, Jennifer Hasegawa, 28, were married last year and are expecting their first child in May. The couple's combined annual income exceeds \$100,000. Even before they were married, they contributed the maximum amount allowed each year to *RRSPs*—a practice they intend to continue. "I knew I had to start saving the day I graduated," said Hasegawa. That sets him apart from a lot of professionals who prefer to live a lavish lifestyle.



ESTIMATED MONTHLY RETIREMENT INCOME: \$64,125
FORECAST REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN LIFESTYLE: \$69,658

tion increases that Ottawa is already planning. Other advisors advance more radical solutions. Paul MacGowan, for one, a former Conservative aide for the ruling at York Scarborough and the first actuary ever elected to Parliament, says that one solution to the pension dilemma would be for the younger members of the baby-boom generation to have some babies. If they did defy current trends, he submits, there would be more workers available in the next century to carry the costs of the boomers' retirement. Other experts urge Ottawa to increase the number of working-age immigrants that it admits into Canada. That solution, however, carries with it the potential

to create yet other problems—both in the form of increased social tensions and in the likelihood that a swelling immigrant population would balk at paying heavy CPP contributions to look after someone else's grandparents. **Cost:** With the fate of the Canada Pension Plan so uncertain, personal financial planners say that other sources of retirement income have become essential for any Canadian who hopes for a comfortable old age. Among these are the federal Old Age Security and government income Supplement programs, company pensions and private savings, especially in tax-sheltered forms for which the deadline for 1995 tax-year contributions is Feb. 28. But in

fact, those options provide a retirement safety net that is already fraying at the seams. Federal Old Age Security, for one, is subject to much the same demographic pressures and age as the CPP is. In an early move to limit the cost of the program, the Conservative government began in 1999 to tax back Old Age Security payments made to individuals with incomes above \$30,000. That trend is likely to continue. Indeed, many pension experts say that eventually the payments will be available only to the very poor. For many Cana-

dian employer-sponsored pension plans are the most important source of retirement income. But there are serious shortcomings in that source of retirement security, as well. For one thing, only about five million Canadians—roughly two out of five employed people—are currently members of company pension plans. Even for those people, retirement may be much less lucrative than they now anticipate. The recent cost-of-employer-sponsored pension plans assume that retirees will be able to rely on the CPP and Old Age Security for roughly a third of their retirement incomes—a supplement that appears increasingly in doubt. If those programs are no longer available, many

inferring will find that their employer-sponsored pension accounts will barely cover the necessities of life. There can be further losses to relying on employer-sponsored pensions for a comfortable retirement. One risk lies in the retirement benefits that one has when an employer leaves an employee—either as a result of a layoff or in order to change jobs. Since workers will not retain members of a pension plan long enough to earn locked-in retirement benefits. Often, even if they pay into an unfunded succession of pension plans during their careers, will find that their retirement benefits are significantly smaller than if they had spent their entire career with one employer (page 28).

Inflation: The 25 per cent of employed Canadians who work for governments have a different problem. Although most public-sector pension plans—many of them indexed to increase with inflation—provide more generous benefits than private-sector plans, they are often not as well funded. British Columbia's midsize general, George Meftis, for one, reported last December that his province's public-sector pension fund had a \$44 million short of what it needs to provide benefits for more than 30,000 provincial government employees.

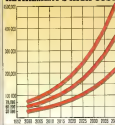
With so much doubt surrounding both company pensions and public old-age security programs, many Canadians have concluded that their most reliable source of retirement income is going to be savings. That is certainly true for Ernest Smith, 62, of Etobicoke, Ont., and his wife, Rita, a mother of four. In May, Ernest, a teamster, will retire from his partnership in a small contracting company, netting by \$364,000 that the couple have managed to save in RRSPs since 1970. Said Smith: "I just wish it had been earlier and started saving earlier. But when you're young, you don't think about retirement." Indeed, only about one in every 20 Canadians over the age of 18 has ever contributed to an RRSP, according to a recent survey by Desrosier Research.

At the same time, say experts, few Canadians possess an accurate knowledge of how much money they will need if they hope to retire a lifestyle in retirement even roughly equivalent to the one that they had while employed. In fact, after decades of inflation, in the year 2030 one may require over \$220,000 a year in retirement income to replace 70 per cent of the purchasing power of a present-day income of \$26,800. Said Royal Trust's Starita, who conducts retirement planning seminars in centres across the country: "Many people create this mental image of what they are going to do when they retire, but it is not built on reality."

For many Canadians, especially those who are members of the baby-boom generation, the reality is likely to be sobering indeed. Said Starita: "I tell them that they are going to be on their own. Welcome to adulthood." For a generation of Canadians accustomed to comfort, however, that reality may come too late to mitigate the dream of a pampered retirement.

BRENDA BALGULSH

RETIREMENT'S HIGH COST



Actuaries, specialists in predicting future incomes and life expectancies, say that most Canadians will require retirement accounts equal to about 70 per cent of annual income if they plan to maintain their standard of living into old age. That amount is based on expectations that some expenses will be lower for retired people, who will have fewer debts and responsibility. Assuming an average annual inflation rate of five per cent—close to the 4.8-per-cent rate that officials use to forecast Canada Pension Plan benefits—the chart (left) shows what Canadians at three different income levels will need after retirement to maintain their present lifestyles beyond the year 2000.

FALLING PENSION RETURNS



Under the present system governing the Canada Pension Plan, for people born after 65, maximum benefits received after retirement will drop below the amounts re-

quired. For a person born in the year 2000, the maximum CPP received after age 65 will amount to only 80 cents for each dollar contributed during his or her working life.

THE FIGHT FOR FUNDS

MORE THAN \$200 BILLION IS ON THE LINE

Before he retired in 1969 after 21 years in the National Hockey League, Allan Stanley had a career that would make most players proud. The Timmins, Ont.-born defenceman played for the Toronto Maple Leafs in their glory days in the 1940s, when the team won four Stanley Cups. In 1961, he was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame. Yet, at 65, he collects an annual pension of less than \$12,000 for his more than two decades in professional hockey. "When we were playing," Stanley told Maclean's, "most of us never gave our pensions much thought. We had no actual vest from [league president] Clarence Campbell, who told us what a wonderful pension plan it was." It is an assessment that Stanley does not share. In April, 1991, he, Gordie Howe, Bobby Hall and four other former NHL players launched a suit in the Ontario Court of Justice against the league's Pension Society, Newfoundland Life Insurance Co. of Toronto, which administers the men's \$10-million pension fund, and the owners of all 22 league teams. Their goal: to recover \$26.6 million that, the suit alleges, the league owes them from the time they retired in the 1960s. Two months later, nine retired players living in the United States launched a similar suit. Neither case has yet reached trial, but the issue at the heart of both is the same: who really owns the money in private pension funds?

Maclean's Clark at pension-funded building site, new ventures for money managers

Shortcomings: In fact, the disputes are simply the latest skirmishes in the evolution of private pensions from simple charity on the part of paternalistic employers to critical sources of retirement income for an estimated five million Canadians—about 40 per cent of all employed workers. As assets in accumulated pension funds have grown to an estimated \$200 billion that workers and their employers have invested in place managed by such trustees as Manufacturers' Life. And beyond the question of who has the right to that money and say, interest that it might earn, the hockey players' suits underscore other shortcomings that critics say plague the current system of private pensions. While union leaders complain that not enough people are covered by employer-sponsored plans, business critics argue that such plans have become enveloped and too costly to administer. "A lot of employers are



Maclean's Clark at pension-funded building site, new ventures for money managers

led up," and Keith Ambrose, the editor of *Canadian Investment Review*. "Employers don't appreciate what they are getting."

Pensions first acquired some controversy in the 1960s. The spark that ignited the debate, the industrial suppliers that refused to sell a booming stock market helped create in many pension plans. As the holdings in such plans grew faster than their associated paid retroactive payments to their members, company managers began taking advantage of the surpluses by withdrawing the money and using it for corporate purposes. The same surge into the limelight in 1985, when unionized employees challenged the right of Toronto-based Dominion Stores Ltd. to receive \$46 million from the food retailer's pension plan. The following year, the Ontario Supreme Court ordered Dominion to return \$30 million to the plan. The company appealed that ruling but later reached an out-of-court settlement

with its employees, agreeing to pay them \$37 million, including \$5 million in compensation for lost-of work.

The controversy that the *Bourgeois* case prompted continues to simmer. In 1984, the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec placed a cap on pension funds withholds by employers from pension plans in those provinces, while their governments considered new legislation. Neither province has yet enacted new laws. But while the momentum are a force, companies whose pension funds develop surpluses may only take a so-called contribution holiday—in effect, using the funds' extra earnings to replace their own contributions to the plan.

Union spokesmen say that the provincial governments are inadequate. Surpluses, they claim, belong solely to pension-plan members. "Pensions are essentially deferred wages," said Michael Sheridan, a researcher with the Canadian Labour Congress in Ottawa. "Instead

of taking that money as wages, that's poor investment." In the pension's opinion, any pension-fund surplus should be used to enrich workers, not their employers, through improvements in pension pay or training programs.

Sheridan's view is unpopular in corporate headquarters. Most pension managers say that employers are entitled only to the specific benefits their plan provides. Said Jay Shacter, vice-president of finance for Montreal-based Joseph E. Seagram & Sons Ltd., whose private pension plan covers 2,500 active and retired members: "If the union negotiates a \$20-an-hour wage, and the company has a good year, they don't come back and demand \$25. Why, when it comes to pensions, do they suddenly think that they are entitled more than they were promised?" Shacter added that many funds now have surpluses because the administrators that employers hired were prudent in how they invested the pension portfolio. "If employees are responsible for providing the benefits and for covering any deficits when they come up," he added, "weren't it only equitable if the results of over-providing are in their hands?"

Private pension plans create other sources of friction. Many derive from the expectations of legislators who, during the 1940s and 1960s, first enacted laws to formalize the previously unregulated private pension system, recognizing those lives beyond the assumption that private pensions would become one of those main sources of retirement income for Canadians—along with the public Canada Pension Plan and private savings. Critics contend that private plans have never lived up to that role, in part because fewer than half of employed Canadians are members of them. Indeed, if the self-employed, unpaid family workers and employees who are excluded, private pension coverage drops to 38 per cent of the workforce.

Legalities: Differences among private pension plans compound the inequities. Ninety per cent of such plans are so-called defined-benefit plans, under which employers and their employees' accumulated earnings are not percentage of their working income multiplied by the number of years they have contributed to the plan. (An employee with a two-per-cent defined-benefit plan who has been a member for 35 years would receive a pension of 70 per cent of \$1.85 of his or her pre-retirement earnings.) The defined-benefit plans base their calculations of the amount that pensioners will receive on differ-

ent definitions of "earnings." The most generous apply the average earnings in an employee's highest earnings (usually their three or five best years), the least generous base the calculation on average earnings over a lifetime.

Employees in provincial regulations can contribute to the pension protection that private plans afford. Typically, an Ontario-based worker for a national company becomes fully entitled to pension benefits, called "vesting," after just two years of membership in a

plan. Such plans are especially popular in industries like construction and forestry, with large numbers of seasonal employees or workers who move frequently from employer to employer. In British Columbia, several groups of employees in the construction industry have banded together with trade unions to launch jointly managed pension funds that offer, among other things, greater pension portability for workers in that volatile business. Said Gerald Stoney, a vice-president at the 900-Canada workers' union in Vancouver, "If you had 100 men one company, in as long as I get rehired within the next two years, I just carry on."

Investments: The cooperative approach to pension-fund management has produced some surprising outcomes. In the case of some West Coast-based unions, taking a hard-line money-savvy their members' pension funds led to a new role in real estate development. When Clark, who was president of the Vancouver-based Telecommunications Workers Union from 1960 to 1987, coordinated 32 other unions to join his own in funding a \$10.3-million real estate development that would not only provide a secure return on investment for all their pension plans, but also create a work for their members. After a successful start, several went into condominium construction on the former site of Expo 86, the group is now building a 20-story apartment tower that it plans to return as its income property. At least three other pension-fund real estate projects are also under development in the province. And Clark provides a fairly optimistic assessment of their future. "When you are buying land, there is little risk if you're not debt-financed. The only risk is how long you are using your own funds, you can wait out any slump in real estate values."

Typically for the self-administered, however, they are now fighting to regain the same measure of control over their pension-fund investments that Clark's union once enjoyed. When the league established its pension plan in 1947, powers initially rested in trustees. After 1969, however, NHL owners took full responsibility for the fund. Now, Stanley and his fellow former players are determined to take control of the plan back—at least as far as their pension is concerned.

In the face of such widespread concerns, a growing number of pension-experts are urging managers and their employees to adopt different definitions of "earnings." The most generous apply the average earnings in an employee's highest earnings (usually their three or five best years), the least generous base the calculation on average earnings over a lifetime.

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BARBARA WICKENS



Laid-off rail workers in Montreal: some might benefit from divine guidance

A HIDDEN COST IN LAYOFFS

LEAVING A JOB MAY ERODE A PENSION

Arturas MacLean has been especially busy during the past few months. He runs the insurance and retirement fund of Montreal's Assombléed Clothing and Textile Workers Union local, and more than 800 of its members have been laid off in the past year. Many of them have consulted MacLean about what they should do with their pension benefits. His advice to the newly laid-off workers is unequivocal. Said MacLean: "I tell them to go to a financial institution or their church. The churches don't have good information about pensions, but the priest might refer them to his own accountant."

In fact, MacLean's pension advisers are not the only Canadians who might feel the need of divine guidance when confronted with the often opaque subject of pension planning. Many employees—even highly paid, highly educated ones—have little understanding of their pensions and even less of what happens to their pension benefits if they leave their job before retirement. Employees who are fired or who

quit their jobs are often confused by the options available to them for their pension benefits. Said Thomas Dufour, a widely respected retirement consultant in Toronto who also publishes an authoritative annual guide to retirement savings: "Everyone is selling financial products out there and they are all eager to get your money. But there are very few knowledgeable advisers around, especially compared to the number of people who are being shaken out of the workforce." Even good advice, however, does not shield departing employees from confusion of many pensions plans that favor workers who remain with their employer until retirement. And although moves to protect laid-off employees from the worst penalties have taken hold in some provinces, as-far as pension is concerned across the country.

Wise: As a result, many workers who lose their jobs may find that they have also lost a significant portion of their pension protection. Said Daniel McGee, president of the Canadian division of International pension consultant WI

lam M. Mercer Ltd. of Toronto: "That's the real Achilles heel of the private pension system. It doesn't provide good benefits to people who quit or get laid-off from their jobs."

The bias in private pensions goes back to the 1920s, when they were first created as rewards for loyal workers who reached retirement age. Since the Second World War, pensions have evolved into complex, long-term benefits, often geared for a company's senior executives. But the spirit of reward for loyalty continues to be reflected in the way that most of the plans are designed. Said McGee: "Employees would say, 'Employees who leave are delinquent, and those who stay should be rewarded.' So they provide us more than they have to to somebody who leaves and direct the rest of the money towards people who stay until retirement." Until 1987, that meant, among other things, that most departing employees could expect to receive a refund of no more than their own contributions to their company's pension fund plus interest, unless they had worked for their employer for at least a decade and had reached age 45.

That situation began to change in 1987, when the federal government reformed legislation governing federally regulated employers to guarantee their right to receive better refunds. Ottawa's legislation, which all the provinces except Newfoundland and Saskatchewan have since emulated, means that anyone who has been a member of a company pension plan for two years has the right to receive not only his own contributions plus interest, but also a portion of the employer's contributions (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick require such so-called vesting after five years, instead of two).

Limits: Those reforms have not entirely equalized the benefits for departing workers. For one thing, when most employees reach pension contributions, they calculate the amount according to an employee's salary at the time he leaves his job—not on what the employee would likely have been earning at retirement after years of raises and inflation. Still, the new rules do provide more generous benefits to most departing employees. But they strictly limit when those workers may do with that money. The three options get a specified portion into IRRS and take any remainder as cash, which would be taxed, leave the money in the old employer's pension plan and receive reduced benefits at retirement, or transfer the funds into the new employer's pension fund, if the new employer will allow it.

The best choice depends on each individual's circumstances. But retirement advisers say that younger employees often do better by putting the money into their own RRSP. Older employees, especially those forced out of pension plans that provide benefits adduced to substance, often do better by keeping their money in that plan. For his part, Bellway advises employees to examine all their choices carefully. Clearly, a little prudence will not hurt either.

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Tending Canada's only megaproject

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Even if Gerry Meier, the chief executive officer of TransCanada Pipelines Ltd., describes the state of his industry as "somewhere between Godzilla and terrorism," he happens also to be presiding over Canada's only current megaproject—one that both Bloomberg and James Bay see history.

The Saskatchewan-based engineer is in the middle of spending \$5.5 billion in expanded and extended pipeline systems to bring western Canadian natural gas to eastern North America markets. A key component of that expansion is the Ineos Pipeline, opened in January, which pumps Alberta gas from Ineosport, Ont., 330 km west of Montreal, through New York state and Connecticut, then under Long Island Sound to South Coast, 130 km east of New York City. TransCanada's expansion program is one of the largest ever undertaken by a single company and dwarfs any other pipeline construction, either under way or planned, anywhere in the world. Although the 596-km Ineosport line already has the capacity to carry 570 million cubic feet of gas per day, TransCanada plans to increase its throughput to 650 million cubic feet by November.

Meier stands out among the willing wounded of the Oil Patch because his company (the only major pipeline firm to achieve Standard & Poor's A rating) has no trouble financing its growth. "Raising money isn't a problem," he told me during a recent interview in Calgary. "We not only can borrow at lower rates than other firms, but we can access types of capital other companies can't touch. In fact, we've got more people beating our door down trying to loan us money than we can possibly use."

TransCanada is still controlled by Manulife Insurance Co., the telephone company that went bankrupt diversifying in the 1980s and has ever since been reentering into its core businesses. Meier expects that by the end of this year, Manulife's interest will be down to zero, which point he will enjoy the good fortune of not having a dominant shareholder.

'We're into something more serious than recession or depression—a major economic and social restructuring'

But none of that makes him feel any better about the current condition of Canada's energy industry. "We're in hard times, and I don't see those hard times changing very much," he laments. "The Saudis have firmly assumed control of the pricing of crude. They want to keep prices at a level where they extract as much money as they can, keeping in mind that oil must be sold at low enough levels to prevent alternative forms of energy from being exploited. So we're not going to see the wild swings in prices we had in the past 25 years or so. In fact, I can't see oil prices in the near future increasing much more than their annual inflation."

The gas industry is in even worse shape. For years, Oil Patchers have been forecasting a bonanza for natural-gas discoveries and sales. The gas was found, all right—but some cash took, just after the United States and Russia, with proven recoverable reserves of 97 trillion cubic feet—but the extra demand has yet to materialize. Gas company profits have been tumbling with overproduction because Ottawa's 1985 deregulation freed supply as well as prices. (Previously, U.S. exports were dependent on Ottawa being satisfied that we had at least a 25-year supply on hand, now there are no reserve quotas.)

Not only are the Americans buying less gas (partly because the last four winters have been unusually warm), but they are also living up to long-term contracts they signed during the past decade at prices higher than the current quotes. In a case now before the California courts, the Sacramento Municipal Utility District is claiming that customers in northern California paid \$674 million too much for their gas because of what it labeled cartel-like arrangements among 196 Canadian natural-gas producers. Earlier, the California Public Utilities Commission had ruled that local natural-gas buyers can cancel these long-term contracts by October of this year.

Apart from such trans-border problems, Meier has some positive emotions about the Free Trade Agreement. "The alternative—being left out to dry in the trade wars as we slipped into ourselves—were even worse," he asserts. "I've worked for American companies, and I know how those people operate. They deal from strength, and they'll put it to you, nine times out of 10, any way they can. In the gas trade, there isn't a day or work goes by that we don't get into some sort of inevitable trade barrier, roadblocks put in our way by the Americans in what's supposed to be free trade."

Although his company has done no studies on the effects of Quebec independence, TransCanada's pipeline construction is crucial to the country's health up. "Right away," Meier points out, "there would be the question of changes in the transportation rates to get gas from Western Canada into Quebec. At the moment, the cost we charge for keeping a line hot and gas flowing from Toronto to the same is taking it to Montreal because they're in the same eastern toll zone. If Quebec went, the people of Ontario would be demanding why they should subsidize transportation of gas to another country called Quebec."

If it's an important point, particularly since Quebec relies on importing about 750 million cubic feet of Alberta gas per day, nearly all of it via TransCanada. (A subsidiary problem for Quebec would be the serious negative trade balance it would run on energy alone. According to one estimate, the cost of the natural gas plus the 40,000 barrels of crude per day it buys from Alberta would add up to \$2.5 billion annually. Meier believes chances are better not than 50-50 that Quebec will remain within Canada, and blames "the vacuum in political leadership in this country" for this situation. "We need people with stronger convictions," he says, "and the willingness to lead instead of reacting to public opinion polls."

He adds: "We're in something much more serious than just a recession or depression. We're in the midst of a major economic and social restructuring. Governments will not be able to get in out of this one. Right now, we've got all kinds of bad-off people sitting on their hands, so it's up to every one to start taking a hard look at himself and give something back to the country in a personal way." Gerry Meier wasn't in the last part by ensuring that his new pipeline isn't Canada's last megaproject.

PHOTO: GARY HOLT/STOCK PHOTO



THE REVITALIZATION OF O CANADA

■ The story of how a small-town blue pockey produced three stirring new renditions of the national anthem.



Canadians have never heard O Canada performed quite like this before. The tune is the old familiar national anthem, but what about that second English verse with the stirring lyrics "Great promises spread and kindly rivers flow"? And isn't that Alannah Mykes, the raspy-voiced rock star, belting out the line? There are other familiar voices: the clear trill of Quebec songstress Natalie in the French verse and the throaty tones of Toronto contri-

posy blues singer Salome Bey. But wait, surely that is a rap singer rapping two lines somewhere in the middle. Certainly this isn't the stiff brass band version known to many Canadians. Reborn as a passionate ballad for the country and sung by its most accomplished performers, this O Canada is not only inspiring national pride, but could be the theme for the first time since Calixa Lavallée of Verdun, Que., wrote the music 112 years ago.



Ross Coulton: "If you love your country, you do what you have to do for it."

The figure behind the recording and two other new symbolic interpretations of Canada's national anthem is a well-known, a 37-year-old broadcaster in Orangeville, Ont., named Ross Carlin. Until recently, Carlin was, as he says, "just the morning man on Orangeville's CBC-FM", waking up a listening audience of 15,000 each day. But in the past few months, the veteran disc jockey with the colorful shirts and the wry quip has become a potent symbol of Canadian patriotism. Against tremendous odds, Carlin, together with his colleague Brian Lyon, conceived and carried out a project to revitalize the anthem by recording it using more than 240 of the country's top musicians and singers, ranging from Luba and Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil to country opera diva Maureen Forrester, from Olympic singer Shagun and jazz singer Susan Aglukag to Billy Newton-Davies, who sings with the a cappella group The Nylons.

"An almost impossible challenge," as they said. But a generous one. Volunteering hundreds of hours of their personal time, the pair mobilized the talent to produce the symphonic and contemporary versions of O Canada, then sent two copies of the recording to every school in the country — all 14,400 of them. Already the stellar selections have seen the migration of many Canadian. Many students are now studying the anthem in Canadian history courses or memorizing the words in both official



Maureen Forrester (left) and Susan Aglukag, blues singers joined together to record the anthem in a *Town As Not Enough* format.

languages. Starting champion Kraft Broadcasting chose the symphonic version for his exhibition skate at the Olympic Games in Atlanta earlier this month. Three hundred radio stations played it in a simulcast on New Year's Day to celebrate Canada's 125th birthday. And both Ottawa and Vancouver festival organizers are talking with Carlin about using it for Canada Day celebrations. As well, on March 1 CTV is airing *Web Gossip* hosts, a one-hour special on the making of the anthem, showing footage of the studio sessions. Says Carlin: "The point is if you love your country, you do what you have to do for it."

The saga began at the peak of the Persian Gulf War, in January, 1991, when Carlin resolved to play the anthem every day on his program to support the Canadian troops and to remind listeners how fortunate they are to live in Canada.

To his amazement, he could not locate a high-quality professional recording. Says Carlin: "Then the Secretary of State had only a 1972 version by an RCMP band and another by a children's choir." In the end he played a British record featuring the Regimental Band of the Coldstream Guards.

Inferior though it was, the phone lines lit up every time Carlin put the *Goodie O Canada* on the air. Schools began taping their own recordings and mailing them to the station. And travelers leaving for the Gulf from Canadian Forces Base Borden, which is within the station's listening range, called in to thank Carlin for inspiring support. "The first morning it happened and the lines lit up. I got choked up," recalls Carlin. "I thought, wow, this song really is significant to people."

Carlin soon discovered that other people in the music industry cared deeply about the anthem and accepted its decline in public life. His aid in an industry trade magazine appealing for help in locating or even recording a good symphonic arrangement of the anthem caught the attention of Toronto record producer Hayward Pennit, a portly Newfoundlander who was the engineer on the acclaimed *Town As Not Enough* recording and video in aid of world hunger, offered to produce the record and knew just the person to arrange a new instrumental version: Eric Robertson, an award-winning composer and studio musician known for his majestic film scores. Both were prepared to waive their royalties. "Everyone has been so inundated with the RCMP version it no longer makes an impression and it is difficult to nifty your country around it," says Pennit. "I wanted to do a light-on version with all the pomp and circumstance it deserves and a better feel."

But Carlin proposed an even more daring idea: produce not just a grand instrumental version but a modernized variation using the *Town As Not Enough* format. And he wanted it to be the best possible recording using performers who reflected the country's musical diversity. "The idea was to make it appealing to children and teenagers," says Pennit. "You don't change

countries just by constitutions but by actions."

Carlin could not have chosen a worse time to mount such an ambitious venture. The recession was showing no sign of abating, and even though performers were willing to donate their time, the sophisticated production required hefty studio fees. He called on his friend Brian Lyon, 37, who owns a specialist advertising agency called The Original Concept Artist Co. in Guelph, Ont. "He also was mky," says Lyon. "But when he's the last time somebody called you and said, hey, do you want to do something

for me, Canada Post Corporation, in the summer of 1991, its contribution provided the funds they needed to produce the score and record a demo track to play for other potential sponsors. By that time all eyes were on Canada's constitutional future. One after another, major sponsors came forward: Macdon Hunter Ltd., Coca-Cola Ltd., Canadian National, The Prudential Insurance Company of America (Canada Operations), Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd., and Canadian Airlines International Ltd.

The performers, too, began to nifty



Assembling a 72-piece orchestra for the symphonic version: less militaristic, more emotional.

for your country."

Lyon organized the concept into a form that could be presented to potential corporate sponsors, performing artists and the project's eventual headliner, Carlin's MP Garth Turner. They decided that proceeds from sales of the \$20 compact disk, and concerts should flow to a non-profit foundation called The O Canada Foundation, which would perpetuate distribution of the anthem to Canadian schools. As well, Carlin and Lyon were determined that the project be funded entirely by the private sector and remain free of political affiliations. "We were on a mission," recalls Lyon. "But it seemed more like a dream. Often it seemed unlikely that it would ever happen."

Working out of their houses, and stretching the limits on their credit cards, the pair labored seven days a week to make it happen. When Garth Turner secured the

around the project, and each had highly individualized reasons for wanting to take part. "I'm very passionate about my national anthem," says Maureen Forrester, who shares a line with Simone Bely in the contemporary version. "I think people stand there and sing O Canada blindly. I always sing it with reverence because I think we live in powder and I'd like everybody else to know it." Folk singer Murray McLaughlin explains that despite the current recession in the country, he wanted to celebrate Canada as a successful cultural experiment. "I'm not a piggy bank. I do not want to wrap myself in the flag," he says. "But what is the point of not getting up and saying, yeah, I love this place and I am proud to live the national anthem?"

The unison themselves were uplifting experiences for many of the singers who took part. Maureen Hayden-Taylor, who is music director of the Capital Choir of



Ross Carlin understands that one about the future of this country have joined forces to create these new versions of O Canada At.

Coca-Cola Ltd., we are proud to be associated with the organizers and artists who had the vision and the perseverance to bring this kind of meaningful project to all Canadians. We look forward to hearing O Canada played at schools, clubs, sporting events — anywhere that Canadians gather. When you hear our national anthem, we urge you to join in so that Canada will truly have one voice.



When we first heard about the revitalization of O Canada, we jumped at the chance to participate. As a native Georgian, I have always been proud to be a Canadian, and the efforts of these

Carlin and his group should be applauded. They took on a fantastic task — bringing over 240 of Canada's finest artists together to create a professional version of the national anthem. On behalf of the 1200 people in our office across Canada, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Canadian Operations, is a proud sponsor of the revitalization of O Canada, every Canadian's "piece of the rock."

The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Canadian Operations



Kenneth W. Bunge
Chairman and
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Given its establishment by a group of young Canadian entrepreneurs 80 years ago, Ford of Canada and its employees have played an important role in Canada's growth as a nation. We have provided four generations of Canadians with high-quality, last-tech cars and trucks. We have provided the employment and purchasing power that sustains a quality of life around the world. By supporting the revitalization of O Canada, we are reaffirming our commitment to a strong, united Canada. "Glorious and Free!"

The Revitalization of O Canada



PHOTO: JOHN KELLY FOR CANADA FOUNDATION

Patti Janello, Dee Medley and Barry Harris in the Toronto chorus: very moving and beautiful.

Toronto, and who conducted the group (chores in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Hamilton, captured the variety of the anthem while creating energetic performances from the artists). The combination of all these rough and rugged street-wise pop and rock musicians juxtaposed with the incredible gentleness and warmth of the conductor and singing this thing that we have all sung since we could always remember was incredible," says participant Dan Hill, whose song *Fall All Over Again* has been a Top 10 U.S. hit during the past two months. "It was very moving and beautiful. You led us by leading your voice to this music."

"In the studio we were saying let's do it again, we can do it even better," recalls Michael Burgess, the mixer who plays Jean

Vulcan in the Royal Alexandra Theatre's celebrated production of *Les Misérables*. Burgess was front and center in the Toronto chorus along with other members from the cast, including two children. He is among Canada's busiest anthem singers, performing at such sports events as last summer's Major League Baseball All-Star game in Toronto. He also will host the CTV special on the O Canada project. "This version of O Canada has all the things that a national anthem should have — the style and the hope for the future — and it makes the song stand up on the back of your neck," he says. "It's a real, heart-felt thing that will do more good than all the meetings that they can

have in Ottawa, because anthems cause a swelling up of feelings about who you are."

In Montreal, participants in the 60-person French chorus, which sings the version that Adolphe-Basile Houllender wrote for Landolt's *Chant National*, also came away with a sense of warmth and refreshment. "When I got there, I was delighted because there were people singing from children to adults," says Gabrielle Desrosier, who performs the anthem at hockey games and whose husband, Roger Doucet, was famous for singing O Canada at Montreal Canadiens home games for a decade. "Personally I feel that I had never sung the anthem that way in my life before, really from the heart." Michael Doherty, a Vancouver Montreal rhythm and blues singer who took part again. "The way we did it was so fresh and young, it could definitely touch people."

Unlike the *True As the Sun* production, where the performers travelled to one place, the O Canada crew travelled to Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Hamilton to record artists. This created enormous artistic difficulties as Parrott attempted to keep a flowing line from one live to the next — each sang out of separate days apart in different studios. In the end, Parrott needed 130 digital tracks, more than any previous music recording in Canada.

The technical challenges loomed equally large in the symphonic version, for which a 72-piece orchestra filled Manta Eastern Sound recording studios in Toronto. As composed by Rubenstein, the symphonic piece is a complex modern interpretation with soaring emotional crescendo reminiscent of a film score. "Obviously when you hear an anthem, it sounds very militaristic, but that was not appropriate for what we were trying to do, so I changed the chords around and raised the tempo to get a greater emotional surge," he says. "Canada compares up wide horizons and vigils and I wanted the music to sound large." The producers also recorded a more conventional short symphonic version that schools can use as a background track once which to record their own choir singing the anthem.

Rubenstein was also the one who chose to use the second verse from the four original English verses that Robert Stanley Wynn wrote in 1906. Song as a series of tributes by Glen Vasselli, Alanah Myers, Paul Jaro, Luba and rapper Meekins Eads-Wye, and backed by liquid guitar riffs by Randy Barham, formerly of Brokenman Turner Overdrive. It is perhaps even more inspiring than the first verse because it describes Canada's geographical splendor. But Manta's fresh twist, which Parrott chose to sing the lines "There did us all fly broad dreams from East to Western seas," had to prove the lines because they did not even exist on the recording he now says, "Oh Yeah! From the East Coast of Newfoundland to the West Coast of B.C."

The rest of the anthem's lyrics remain untouched. As students of O Canada know the stanza in French written for the 1860 *St-Jean Baptiste Day* celebrations in Quebec City have such phrases as "First we know how to carry the cross" and bear little resemblance to the official English version. But the French version celebrated that difference. "I found myself getting a kick or my heart," says Susanne Stevens, one of the Quebec-born lead vocalists in the French version. "We forget how much this song characterizes us — the fighter in us, the people who stand up for what they believe in — in this case, national unity."

Carlin and Lynn's O Canada project

The Revitalization of O Canada

new seems to have a life of its own. The next step is the production of a 35 mm film of the short symphonic track suitable for television stations to use as a sign-off at the end of the broadcast day. It features scenes of Canadian life ranging from wooden docks to school buses picking up children and new citizens being sworn in. Carlin and Lynn are also hopeful that cinema chains will use the symphonic O Canada at the beginning of each film, a practice that faded not more than a decade ago. Already Toronto's McLaughlin

The activity is so new concerning that Carlin is no longer the reigning man at GDC-FM in Oronoville. Together with



Bridford Elphinstone-Taylor conducts the Vancouver chorus: street-wise pop and rock musicians juxtaposed with the incredible gentleness and warmth of the conductor.



Young voices from the Montreal chorus: celebrating the differences between the French and English versions.

Lynn, his new director himself fall time to harnessing the use of the anthem. And now there are more than just spaces and performers behind him. Thousands of Canadians are joining The O Canada Foundation. "The most important lesson I learned on this project is never give up," says Carlin. "The songs on that cassette are literally my dream come true — and every song was a leap of faith. It is a lesson he hopes other Canadians will take to heart."

Planetarium is introducing a laser light show synchronized to the new O Canada music. And the symphonic version video will likely appear on the Toronto SkyDome's giant Jumbotron screen during a late July game in the upcoming season.

Watch for the **Special With Glowing Hearts** premiering Sunday, March 1 at 7 p.m. E.S.T.*

*Check local listings for the time as it varies.

Ron Lindsay
President and
Chief Executive Officer
Canadian National

When the name of your company is Canadian National, it almost goes without saying that you will be involved in a project like the revitalized national anthem.

It is a national initiative. One which precedes the days of Confederation. Today, they carry bright and beautiful messages next to meet and deep into the U.S. Even the passenger services of both airlines use our rail network. We must not stay in a highly competitive environment to help keep Canadian business competitive.

We're optimistic about Canada's future — and our own. Our sponsorship of the revitalization of our country's national anthem reflects this optimism.

Ron Lindsay
President and
Chief Executive Officer
Canadian National

Markus Hunter is pleased to have contributed to the revitalization of O Canada. We have put many resources behind the recreation of this important national symbol, drawing on our fundraising, printing and publishing businesses. Ron Carlin and his team have created these beautiful landmarks of Canada's national anthem. These traditions will have a well deserved presence at important future events in our nation's history. Here's to our next 130 years, and to our nation's role in contributing to a strong, unified country.

Maclean's Hunter

Silver Lining



At the Winter Olympics, all medals are not created equal. Bikes look to downhill skiers like flamboyant superstars. Alberto Tomba is apical downhill skier. These skiers, like Japan's 16-year-old double-gold champion, Tani Nomura, and Germans get their hopes on skiers, sliders and men puffing through the woods on cross-country skis with rifles strapped to their backs. For Canadians, there has never been any doubt: hockey is the test of national virility. So when the largely underrated bunch of players that made up Canada's Olympic team faced off against a heavily favored Russian squad in the Games' shortest final event on Sunday, it was the most spectacular possible ending to the 1994 Winter Games. And despite their defeat, the silver medal they brought home capped off what was, for Canada athletes, the most successful Winter Olympics ever.

Even Canada's second-place finish on Sunday was historic—the

CANADA'S FIRST HOCKEY MEDAL IN 24 YEARS CAPS A SUCCESSFUL WINTER OLYMPICS

the same flag. As expected, they dominated the Games with 26 medals by bringing together the products of the old East German sports empire with West German organization and money, Russian athletes, competing as part of the dependent Unified Team, were easily judged on their own merits rather than as products of the last-disintegrating Soviet sports machine. Their team gathered 23 medals, the second highest number, but the days of a powerful Soviet team by any name were clearly numbered.

By the next Winter Games, in 1998, Russians, Ukrainians and others will be competing against one another under their own national flags. Norway, which will host those Games, grabbed a surprising 20 medals last week after dominating cross-country skiing. And Austria, with its star skier Peter Kronberger, who won two gold medals, took 12. Canada captured seven medals—two golds, three silvers and two bronzes. That tied the country's high at the Games in Lake Placid, N.Y., in 1932—and those were mostly bronze. And turned out. Sheebers predominated among the Canadian medalists, reaching the podium in bobsled, short-track skating and figure skating.

Organizers of the Canadian team recognized their success in other ways, too. Forty per cent of the 117 Canadian ath-

letes' first silver in Olympic hockey since the Klachner-Waterloo Dutchmen lost to an American team at the 1960 Games in Squaw Valley, Calif.—the first hockey medal of any kind since a bronze at Grenoble in 1968. In their way, this year's Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, France, were also historic. For the first time since 1936, when the Nazis tried to head the Berlin Olympics to their political purposes, the Games were no longer an arena of confrontation between opposing ideological worlds. German athletes, instead of embodying the capitalist-versus-communist battle as often as they had since the 1950s, competed under



Tomba the flamboyant superstar and self-described 'messiah of skiing' wins the giant slalom.



Seber. "This was not the Olympic Games, in my opinion."

In other ways, it was a typical Games, with its schizophrenic mix of outrageous display and extremely personal devotion to the pursuit of excellence. Italy's Tomba provided the most vivid example of the Games' flamboyant side. The self-described "messiah of skiing" won the gold in the giant slalom last week and was eager of flag-waving by his Italian fans, then fell to his knees in the snow and declared that Alberto should be rewarded. "Tomba-villa." At a victory party, he threw cake at his friends, and boasted that while he used to party with those women and 5 a.m., he would cut back this year and "live it up with five women until 3 a.m." And he finally fulfilled his ambition of defeating German figure skater and Katherine Witt, who was working as a skating analyst for CBS. Having been rebuffed by her at the Calgary Games, he persuaded her to let him give her a skating lesson last week. None of that slowed him down; on Saturday, Tomba grabbed a silver medal in the men's slalom to add to his gold.

Some Canadian bobsledder Chris Lons represented the other side of the Games: the intense pursuit of personal excellence with little hope of publicity and none at all of that sponsorship connection. He had to deal not only with his international competitors, but also with intense motives on his own team and a coaching staff that kept changing the rules that decided which drivers would be able to compete. On Saturday, Lons led placed fourth in the four-man race, missing a medal by a mere 11 one-hundredths of a second. It was the best Olympic bobsledding performance by Canadians since 1964. But that was no consolation to Lons, who wears the mark of his dedication to the race across his chest from a crash several years ago. "1964 was a long time ago, and fourth isn't a medal," he

Eric Lindros and medals are not created equal, for Canadians, there is no doubt—hockey is the test of national virility.

lates finished 16th or better in their event, a placing that the Canadian Olympic Association regards as internationally competitive. That was improvement over the team's 50-per-cent success rate at the Calgary Games in 1988. But Walter Seber, the team's leader, acknowledged that at all levels of the 10-per-cent target set by the COC. "It's our best result under this system," said Seber. "Overall, it's a real success."

Seber: Less successful was the organization of the Games. By spending years among 18 widely scattered locations in France's Savoy Alps, organizers created what amounted to a series of world championships in individual sports. Skiers stayed with other skiers in remote Val d'Aïre, while bobsledders stuck together atop a mountain at La Plagne. Athletes complained about being isolated, unable to attend other events and get a taste of what the Olympics are supposed to be about. "It was very difficult for them to get a sense of being together as a team," said

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Lillehammer.

Olympic Mystique

A HISTORIC PERFORMANCE BY THE CANADIAN HOCKEY TEAM



The shots bounced off Sean Burke's chest, his pads, his stick. They would off Canadian defenders and ricocheted off the goal. Again and again the United Team attacked, perhaps not the big Red Machine of old but still a quick, disciplined, relentless team that, for two hours, scorched perils of the Olympic gold-medal game last Sunday, was stirred by Burke's spectacular goaltending. Finally, with one minute gone in the third period, the United Team (Russia-Bulgaria) fired one past Burke and into the net. Fifteen minutes later his team scored again. And although Chris Lindberg countered for Canada, the Soviet strikers scored once. Down 3-1, the Canadians continued to lead, but they simply could not generate enough effort and, in the end, they settled for the country's first Olympic silver medal in 32 years—and the first medal of any kind in 24.

It was not quite the miracle on ice that the Canadians had hoped to achieve. But it was a strong, scrappy showing for a team whose race was largely a haul of silver-plated players from the minor leagues, university squads and the Canadian national team. "It thought it was a great effort," Canadian coach Dave King said afterwards. "The guys played real hard—we ask no more." For members of the United Team—the hastily applied temporary team only points to the disintegration of the Soviet Union—it was a kind of last hurrah. The legendary Russian coach, Viktor Tikhonov, still paced up and down in front of the bench. But National Hockey League scouts hunted the arena in Montréal, checking out the newly available talent. And although these players were younger and less experienced than ex-champions, they were powerful enough to grab the gold.

Sensational: Still, it was clear that the balance of power in international hockey was shifting. The defending champion Sweden failed to live up to expectations, while the American squad proved more treacherous than many experts had predicted—until they were defeated by the Soviet Union in its 5-2, in the semifinals. The Americans finished fourth after losing to Czechoslovakia in the bronze-medal game.

The Canadian team, whose coach King was also behind the bench in 1964 and 1976, was deficient as well. Although most of its players were not Canada's finest, many—sitting for



Burke (right) in crucial game against Czechoslovakia: the key to success

years Fabian Joseph and former NHL defenceman Curt Giles—rose to the occasion. King also had an outstanding goalie in Burke, who joined the national team last September after being to be traded from the NHL's New Jersey Devils. And King added the most cost-effective player in the game today: 38-year-old point guard veteran Eric Lindros. With close friends, King relied last recently tight defensive system and at the team play a more offensive style. "Our team has

time is different," he said. "It's higher risk, it's more exciting."

Lindros arrived for the Games showing signs of stress. Aside from the political furor surrounding his refusal to join the Quebec Nordiques of the NHL, over the past six months he had played for the Canada Cup team, the national junior team and the Ontario Generals before joining the Olympics squad. "I've been on skates since Aug. 3," he said. "I've been flying

all over the world—my travel plans are unbelievable." Off the ice, Lindros did attempt to enjoy himself: he found time to take a Canadian-style skier, and he went out to dinner with his parents, Carl and Bernice Lindros, often eating most of his mother's meal after devouring his own. "He's having a hell but he's not 10 lb.," said Bernice Lindros. "He can't seem to get enough to eat."

On the ice, Lindros stood out—only because of his scowling, five-inch, 225-lb frame made the No. 83 jersey. His statistics were impressive, but not as dominating as his reputation: he had five goals and six assists. It was the team's second-best offensive record, behind center Joe Mullen, a Boston Bruins draft pick from Quebec City who had six goals and nine assists—making him the top scorer in the entire tournament. But it was Lindros who came up big on Tuesday night in Canada's unexpected struggle against Germany. The team was still tied at 2-2 after the 10-minute overtime period. And the nerve-racking shootout followed was decided once after 10 shots a unit Lindros, who had clipped his first shot over the German goal, tipped in his second. When Burke stopped the Germans' next shot,

loosely—the puck rolled exorbitantly towards the net, stopping just short of crossing the line—the Canadians had survived.

Key to fast, despite all the attention on Burke, it was Burke's goaltending that proved to be the key to the Canadian team's success. He gave them a chance to win—despite some shaky defense and sometimes puntless offense. In the tournament's first game, Burke held off an assault by a surprising Finnish team and let the Canadians escape with a 3-2 win in their opening-round meeting, the United Team crushed Canada by an av-



Canadian hockey fans: a more offensive, free-wheeling style

whelming 53-15—but Burke held the United Team to an one-goal victory. And although he allowed two soft early goals against the Germans, he recovered and gave his teammates confidence in the decisive shootout, said King. "One of the first things I heard on the bench was [Brian captain] Brad Schlegel saying, 'We got Burke, guys, there's no problem.'"

As the final game drew closer, about 30,000 messages of support poured into the players' residence in the village of La Tana. Publicly at least, King said he had not dreamed his team of what a medal would mean for Canadian hockey. But the applause was not lost on the players themselves. Dave Blumie, a center with the Toronto Maple Leafs who joined the Olympic team only in mid-January, made it clear that he, like the weight of the moment. "With the telegraph coming in from Canada, you know you're playing on behalf of your country," he said. "There's a mystique about the Olympics." Unfortunately for Canada, there was also a mystique about Burke himself. "I just left the Canadians with a hard-earned silver

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Montréal

RIGHT ON TARGET

For Myrman Bédard, winning an Olympic medal was a family affair. When she shot and scored her way to a bronze last week in brother, Bédard's parents, Pierre and Françoise, as well as her brother Joseph, were at the finish line to greet her. "I told my mother three years ago to start saving something out of her biographical money to go to the Olympics," Bédard revealed. "So every week, she put \$333 or \$334 aside." It cost her parents \$3,000 each to go to the French Alps for the Games—money that Pierre Bédard, an electronics in suburban Quebec City, could do afford. But as he celebrated his 32-year-old daughter's medal in the resort town of Les Deux Alpes, a Quebec flag strung out in his backyard, Bédard clearly had no regrets. "Myrman always has surprises for us," he said.

Myrman Bédard's medal was the fruit of seven years' dedication to a sport traditionally dominated by Germans, Soviets and Scandinavians. In fact, Bédard was the first North American ever to win an Olympic medal in biathlon, which combines cross-country skiing with target shooting. The trick, athletes say, is to be able to go all-out in the skiing and then, within seconds, to become the calm and steady needed to shoot well. Bédard won the Winter Games, Bédard was ranked second in the world in women's biathlon. But she finished a disappointing 12th in her first

Olympic race, the 7.5-km sprint, run during a heavy, wet snowfall on Feb. 11. Eight days later, Bédard had another chance, over the 15-km distance—and she was determined to make the most of it. "I went to my job," he said. "I had shot well, I had to do my best." She was called in the end, the 52nd of the 30 targets with her 22-caliber rifle and finished behind German gold medalist Arja Moseley and Swedish Phenomenon of the United Team, who captured the silver. Despite her strong showing, Bédard's chosen sport remains an obscure activity in Canada, with only about 3,000 people involved. It has its roots in Scandinavia, where about 40,000 are trained.

Brotherly troops for two continents, and Bédard acknowledges that she took up biathlon only by choice when she joined the Canadian army cadets at 15 and learned to shoot. Although her first choice was figure skating, her parents found it too expensive to pay for. Bédard eventually biathlon became an obsession for Bédard—one shared by her boyfriend, 27-year-old René Paquet, a corporal in the Royal 22e Régiment and a fellow member of the Olympic biathlon team, with whom she lives in the Quebec City suburb of Mont-Royal. And with her new success, Bédard said that she is determined to continue on, setting her sights on a gold medal at the next Winter Olympics in Norway in 1994. But first, she said, she plans to take a week's holiday with her parents—a reward for being there in her moment of triumph.

Bédard, shooting for bronze

A. P. in Les Deux Alpes

By Brian Orser

A Question Of Judgment

SKATERS' MARKS WERE OFTEN CONTROVERSIAL



the morning of the original program, she changed one of her jumps from a difficult triple Axel to an easier triple Lutz. That's a bad decision right away, it is an admission rule that you do not change a step in your program, let alone a

jump. And sure enough, on the night of the last program, she fell on the triple Lutz and finished fourth. In the long program two days later, she fell again, this time on a triple Axel. But she fought back with a strong performance—strong enough to win a silver, but not to catch Kimmie Zmeskal. The 21-year-old American skated a technically choreographed program, and who she lacked of balance from a triple loop, everyone looked nervous except Yamaguchi herself. She retained the confidence of the Olympic champion she became—the first American winner of the



Kimmie Zmeskal (left) and Ponomarenko skating with charisma and technical brilliance

Olympic title since Dorothy Hamill in 1976. Yamaguchi's was had a special resonance in Canada, as well. Although a native of Princeton, Calif., she attends the University of Alberta and trains in Edmonton at the same arena as Karl Browning. And her program was choreographed by Toronto's Sandra Benet, who four years ago worked with my archrival, Brian Battista. Still, overall, it was a disappointing night as in the men's event two weeks ago, the skating was not as good as expected. Nancy Kerrigan, a 22-year-old American, was not nearly as polished as she had been in the original program, slipping from second place to settle for a bronze. Karen Prouty, the 20-year-old Canadian champion from Minneapolis, Oct., had been a champion when the judges placed her 12th in the original program. And she later told me that the stressful time between her warm-up and her free program was the worst 35 minutes of her life. But she turned that into a positive and skated wonderfully—it was clear, she did not miss anything—to finish eighth. Her teammate, Josée Chouinard, took ninth place. Josée, 25, from Laval, Que., had a couple of falls, she lost the talent to be among the best, but she is not doing it when it counts.

Reputation. The judging has been a constant of contention throughout the Games. After the original program, I agreed that Prouty should have been placed higher. And after her fall at the short program, she was lucky to land as fourth. I assume the judges felt that she is a former world champion, she is one of the favorites, she has put her best. I totally disagree with that mentality, but for some mysterious reason it was the judging trend at the Albertville Olympics. If the judges considered only the merit and not the reputation of the skater, then this rule Olympic champion would always be crowned.

Sometimes, however, the judges feel themselves at a difficult position. When the top skaters perform up to their abilities, their job is easy. They simply award the high marks that they have instinctively reserved for the world-renowned performers. But because the judges try not to give the same marks to two different people, sometimes late in the program—they feel forced to give either a too-high or a too-low mark. The system works against novice newcomers. That is what happened two weeks ago to Canada's Eliza Stralo, who skating level, performed a superb free program. That left the judges with the choice of either ranking her extremely highly or finding whatever hole they had left—which turned out to be a very subtle one.

As for the skating itself, the only event that held true to form was ice dancing, in which the top outsiders all performed well. The gold medal went to Mariia Klionova and Sergei Ponomarenko, a Russian-and-side duo from the United Team who virtu-

ously the confidence of a champion

ed with total confidence, charisma and technical brilliance. Their rivals, Paul and Isabelle Duchesneau, the Quebec-based brother-and-sister team now representing France, came in second. In the past, the Duchesnaus have captured the audience with their unconventional routines, starting the rules by using two magic lifts, or skating apart from each other for longer than the prescribed time. Before the Olympics, French officials told them to stay within the limits, forcing them to take an uncharacteristically cautious approach. In the free program, they drifted to the well-known music from *What She Said*. And they used extra pressure appearing before their house crowd—a situation I can sympathize with, having performed in Calgary in 1988. In their short program, they needed to be hitting hard—although it was clean and error-free, it didn't lose their usual fire.

Chaos! Their choreographer, Christopher Dean, the 1984 Olympic bronze champion (who married to Isabelle, and later that he left he was "drained to the stakes") And after winning the silver medal, Paul Duchesneau suggested that ice dancing might work better than exhibitions than as a competition sport. "It should be performed for the enjoyment of the public," he said. "It is too subjective—you can't judge it objectively until it becomes a question of individual taste."



Canada's team of Mark Jankowski and Jacqueline Pezz also had a fine performance in Albertville. During an earlier practice session, 21-year-old Pezz suffered a gash to her leg that required a total of 22 stitches. But at the

suggestion that she could opt out of the event, she dropped her crutches and walked out of the medical center in the Olympic Village. Even at great pain, she dealt with the problem like a real trouper and Olympian. Ultimately, she and her 23-year-old partner competed as well as they could, considering that they had not practiced their free dance program in a week. They were happy with their performance. Pezz finished third with this 120-place finish. I told Jacqueline that they should both be proud of themselves for finishing the event at all.

As I watched the presentation of the medals, I lived some of my own Olympic moments. I felt for the Duchesnaus. As a skater, there is no greater challenge than to go for the gold in your home country. Being second is hard. The Calgary Games were truly the ultimate competitive experience for me. And I know that in time, the Duchesnaus will feel the same. They will put everything at perspective and retain happy memories of the Albertville Olympic Games. □

'HELL AND THEN HEAVEN'

Sylvia Daigle tasted both the lows and highs of the Olympics last week. On Thursday, she was eliminated from competition in her best event, the 500-m short-track speed skater race. In a preliminary race, an American competitor inadvertently landed her skate, leaving the track with the resulting third-place finish costing her a place in Saturday's final. But on Thursday, she finally won Olympic gold when she anchored a Canadian victory in a 3,000-m relay race—setting a world record. "It was hell and then heaven, two different worlds," she said later, her gold medal still hanging around her neck and her face seemingly frozen in a grin of delight. "I'm never from skating, but it's a great kind of nervous."

The team's victory—combined with a surprise when medal performance by Quebecer Pénélope Blackham at the men's 1,000-m race and another silver in the men's 5,000-m relay—confirmed Canada's strength as the apparent sport of short-track skating.

A full medal event for the first time at the Albertville Winter Games, short-track is still struggling for respectability. Compared to swarms of fans looking in backyard rinks, skaters chase one another in tight packs around an oval track to the delight of fast-starting fans—but to the

dread of speed skating parents who prefer the calm intensity of long-track racing. Quebecers were among the first takers up short-track, and they were rewarded last week. Three members of the women's relay team are now Manitobans. Nicole Bessell, 20, a two-time world champion, Nathalie Lambert, 20, the current Canadian 500-m short-track champion, and 23-year-old Angela Côté. The fourth member is 20-year-old Anne Perreault, who lives in Sherbrooke. Blackham, too, was evidence of Quebec's short-track strength. A 19-year-old high-school student from Châteauguay, he spent a long painful and a hard expression as he accepted his silver medal. "I don't think I had a chance for a medal when I got here," said Blackham, "but all the effort paid off."

Two days later, Blackham, along with teammates Michel Deshayes, 25, and Sylvain Gagnon, 22, of Montreal and Mark Ladson, 24, of Saint John, N.S., won Canada's third short-track medal, finishing just four one-hundredths of a second behind the South Korean team.

For Daigle and Lambert, the victory came just in time. Lambert had already been thinking of retiring, and Daigle had delayed entering medical school. "I don't compete and study at the same time—I have to make a choice now," said Daigle. "Both me and Nathalie knew this was probably our last chance. Winning the gold is the perfect end to our career."



Daigle: recovering to anchor a Canadian victory

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Albertville

The Cruelty Of Fate

A PROMISING YOUNG ONTARIO SKIER SUFFERS A FATAL CRASH



She was not an Olympian. But she might have been one day. Her family, on the Southern Ontario Downs, possess a ski team called Wendy Buda's legions and an aspiration, a 15-year-old superstar who often donned even bigger than the legs—no girl who, as teammate Richard Bertram put it, "we all thought was going to be the next Kjersti Lee-Garner." On the evening of Feb. 15, Buda watched a TV rerun of Lee-Garner's stirring gold-medal run down the perilous Roc de la Forêt (Iron Rock) course in Méribel, France. The next morning, she awoke early to lead for a juvenile championship at Blue Mountain in Collingwood, northwest of Toronto. Shortly after 10 a.m., the young racer—whom an official described as among Canada's best in her age group—strapped on one of the starting lifts and bobbed down the giant slalom course. Then, suddenly, as she was nearing the finish line, she veered off. "She got off balance somehow," said her father, 54-year-old Stan Buda. "She would not give up. She was trying to get herself back on course and she hit the end of the run and went off into the woods."

The story of Wendy Buda is about the dangers of ski racing, the ferocious determination to succeed—and the cruelty of fate. Buda's crash came three days after her last race. But doctors at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children kept her on life-support systems until the next day when, according to her family's wishes, they removed her vital organs for transplant. The tragedy occurred almost simultaneously with Lee-Garner's moment of triumph. The two did not know each other; they are connected only by their nationality, their particular genius and their singular talents. But as Lee-Garner returned to Calgary for a joyful reunion with her family last week, her mother, Jane Lee, re-formed of Buda's death, called it a "parent's nightmare." When Stan Buda, she added, "your first instinct is, did she make it safely—rest in the result." In her Toronto home, Judy Buda, a 46-year-old physician, expressed similar sentiments. Watching her daughter in a recent downhill race "thrilled me," she said, but "Wendy was unafraid. She really didn't think about it," her mother said. "I don't think you can. You've got to go for it, and I don't think there's any in-between."

Wendy Buda began skiing at age 3. She took

lessons at the Otter Bluff Ski Club north of Toronto and, by 5, was racing through the best few girls of the six-run. Inspired by her older, strong sibling brother, Michael, Wendy began racing up victories. At the family's ski cabin,



Buda she might have been an Olympian

there are "30 pounds of medals," said her father, Stan Buda. "And 95 per cent of them are gold ones."

Training: Last December, Buda, a Grade 11 student, made the southern Ontario juvenile team and thus began a rigorous regimen, hitting the ski hills three days a week while squeezing school, the swim team and some extra dry-land training into the other three days. The hard work paid off. She was five races (two events, often by more than a second, and was preparing for the Ontario and national championships. "She had what it takes," said Kenneth Crompton, a member of the Southern Ontario Ontario's Alpine Committee. "You've got to love what you're doing, and she did."

Added Crompton: "I'd took her at the top in Canada as a 23-year-old—and she had the experience of advancing to the national and international level."

Blamed for the accident on a course that she had raced many times. At the Alvertville Centre six days later, 27-year-old Swiss speed skier Nicolas Baudry was killed when he slammed into a snow-growing machine on a practice run. Still, deaths at advancing competitions are rare, although injuries are chillingly common. Canadian Brian Stormie, who competed at Albertville, came back from a horrific crash at Kitzbühel, Austria, in 1989 that literally almost tore him in half. Lee-Garner also suffered through two debilitating knee injuries—and five operations—before struggling back to the slopes. But after returning to Calgary on Feb. 19, she said that her victory was "well worth everything that has happened to me." Added Lee-Garner: "I wanted to keep skiing so long as I had't lost the belief I would win a medal some day."

Just hours after Lee-Garner's celebrated homecoming, Wendy Buda's friends and teammates met at the Toronto funeral home where her body remained buried. They described a girl with a gregarious smile who played down her own victories and encouraged her competitors. "She always cheered us on," said 14-year-old Brady Joel of Collingwood. Some said that her fatal fall had shaken their own confidence, but all expressed a determination to continue skiing. Said Joel: "We're going to race and we're going to do it for her."

In the family's gracious home, Stan Buda, an advertising executive, said that his daughter never boasted about her own skiing abilities. "I think she knew just how precarious ski racing is," her father added, "but one tiny mistake could cost you a race—could even take out your life." Warning slowly up to his daughter's ski-goggles covered head, Stan Buda pointed out one of her trophies and the stuffed bag that she carried on the day of her fatal race. "She was a terrific kid," he said, choking back tears, "absolutely terrific." She never became an Olympian. But Wendy Buda was clearly a winner—a much-loved daughter and loved one who also happened to be an extraordinary athlete.

MARY NEMETH with JUDY NEMETH in Calgary

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PEOPLE

Toast to a star

Nearly everyone loves a party—especially when the guest of honor is Isabella Rossellini, 39. Last week, French cosmetics company Lancôme held a reception in Toronto for the actress, who represents one of their new beauty lines. The daughter of Ingrid Bergman, who died in 1982, and Roberto Rossellini, who died



Resolving agent and reagents

in 1977, mingled with more than 300 guests as they topped champagne and nibbled caviar. The chance to meet the Fabian-born beauty afforded an assortment of Canadian luminaries, including *Street Legal* star Martin Doi, Dan, dancer Vanessa Tomcann, Hudson's Bay Co. president Bob Peter and playwright Tamsen Highway. Asked what he was doing there, Highway raised his glass, smiled and said: "I have no idea."

Taking stock of the Crosbys

In his two previous books, *Justice Denied* and *Unholy Orders*, journalist Michael Harris of Lanesburg, N.S., wrote about such controversial subjects as the Donald Marshall murder case and sexual abuse at the Mount

Conduct orphanage in St. John's, Nfld. Now, in a new book, *Rare Ambition: The Craibies of Newfoundland*, set for publication in November, Harris is tracing the history of one of the province's oldest families. But the author says that unlike his previous efforts, the new work

Marriage: a social history



which traces Fisheries Minister John Crosbie's roots back to the 1300s, will contain more "social history" than scandal. Indeed, Crosbie, whose salty personality is almost legendary, is one of the main sources. And so far, the outspoken Tory cabinet minister is co-operating with the author. Said Harris, 43: "He has been extremely helpful."



Watt (left); Wilson: brighter lights in Olympic coverage

MAKING AIRWAVES IN ALBERTVILLE

At the 1988 Winter Games, German figure skater Katharina Witt captured gold, while Canadian ice dancer Tracy Wilson and partner Rob McEld, who died of AIDS last year, won bronze. This year, both Witt and Wilson were Olympic commentators on CBS—and some viewers, including Boston Herald writer James Baker, said that they preferred Wilson to Witt. wrote Baker: "She is anthropiatric, sure to understand and knowledgeable. She is among the few bright lights in CBS's coverage."¹¹



Reader: back in the 'City of Sadies'

Down to Earth

Roberta Bondar returned to her home town of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., last week for the first time since moving into space—and history books—as Canada's first female astronaut. And she received a rousing hero's welcome that included two public rallies in her honor. The outpouring of public support from more than 8,000 well-wishers at the Soo clearly surpassed the 40-year-old searunner's whose eight-day mission aboard the space shuttle *Discovery* ended on Jan. 26. Declared Bondar as she surveyed a sea of happy faces, "I want to recommit this, the City of Sault."



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Scare talk and skepticism

BY GEORGE BAIN

It is widely accepted among journalists that those essential characteristics of persons in their trade are a curiosity to find out, a visceral need to talk everybody once they know and a healthy skepticism. That last, or so the mythology goes, brings a cold eye to bear on all statements and issues so that journalists are able to separate the wheat from the chaff—although not necessarily to throw away the wheat, as John Stossel, the U.S. Democratic candidate of 1992 and 1996, once alleged. The second of those characteristics is arguable, because the journalist who can't ever find anything worth telling soon ceases to be employed. Curiosity and skepticism are salutary.

That one of the way, let's take a long look in history to the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and its relationship, if any, to Canada's health-care system. It is already apparent that, in the 1992 U.S. presidential election campaign, health care is an important issue. There was every reason to expect it would be. Even on the night of the 1986 U.S. election, when the ultimate result was clear but the counting incomplete, some senior Democrats, such as Senator Edward Kennedy, were talking about their party's having to make health care a plank in the 1993 platform. They now have several ideas on the go, needing only to be refined and rolled into one.

President George Bush already has dismantled the Canadian model as not suitable. He spoke of long waits for heart surgery at Brook Columbia something he may have got from a U.S. television documentary that said the vice Bush has put up a complex scheme of his own. The MacNeil/Lehrer Newsletter on 1991 in co-operation—as candidates of both parties slipped through New Hampshire in the first primary of these all-starred line: each sought for a vote to discussion of U.S. health care and what needs to be done about it. But the most has not sprung up just with the campaign, or with politicians.

By January, 1990, The New England Journal

Journalists should have knocked down arguments that free trade with the United States menaced medicare

of Medicine had already said of medical care that new thinking was needed. On April 16, 1988, Lee Iacocca, chairman of Chrysler Corp., said in a column in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Ten years ago, any red-blooded American business leader caught even whispering the notion of national health insurance would have been asked to leave in his pastime suit. And of course, the medical establishment saw any greater government role in health care as the possible end of Western civilization as we know it. Well, don't look now, but there's a big crack in the dam. More and more businesspeople are not just whispering, but talking out loud about making health-care financing a government responsibility."

Four months after Iacocca wrote his letter in the *Times*, Peter Cateau, a vice-president of the Communications Workers of America, was also talking about health care that time on *MacNeil/Lehrer*. "There is an answer to that problem," he said. "Just north of us in Canada, they have a national health-care policy. In Canada, everybody is covered by health care. The workers don't pay a cent." What brought Cateau to heart of the cameras was a strike of 104,000 workers in four telephone companies in the Atlantic, northeastern and Pacific states.

The major issue facing them was company-paid health insurance, in which management wanted a employee cost-sharing.

Iacocca and Cateau had in common a complaint about cost—eight per cent of gross national product in Canada for health care, Cateau said, compared with 12 per cent in the United States, and yet 30 million Americans had no medical insurance. "Over per capita health bill," said Iacocca, who also cited the 30 million unprotected, "is 41 per cent higher than Canada's, 81 per cent higher than Sweden's, 85 per cent more than France's, 121 per cent more than Japan's and a whopping 174 per cent above Great Britain's." Iacocca acknowledged uneasiness over government taking all responsibility for health care—"a huge risk, given our long record of federal financing of social services." Nevertheless, \$790 of the cost of producing a car in the United States went to pay for health care for employees, retirees and their families, three times as much as in Japan, and "the competitive pressures to try something different are building."

What this has to do with media curiosity and skepticism is that an alleged risk to social programs became an emotional issue in the free trade debate, largely because of two contradictory, and now clearly false, arguments that were capable of being twisted at the time and were. The emphasis in current U.S. politics on improving health care does not undermine this, demonstrates the fallacy.

The two arguments were (a) that Big brothers in the United States would argue that Canadian health care subsidies inferior, therefore must be "harmonized"—not to equal—in the name of a "level playing field," and (b) that Big brothers in Canada would demand a "level" in the name of competitiveness, because doing so would permit taxes to be decreased. The first was fraudulent in that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to which both countries reluctantly, accepts that national social programs are not trade-distorting subsidies, therefore not negotiable. The second would be fraudulent, if argued because Canadian industry severely could be unaware that the health-care system is a bargain, to everyone, compared with the highest and most expensive systems in the United States.

Evidence showed then, both in GATT documents and in feeble disinformation in the United States with the state of that country's health-care system, to knock such arguments on the head. The *Washington Post*, to its credit, said in a July 7, 1986, editorial that, if true, the risk of destruction of Canadian social programs "would be a potent argument against adopting the agreement." It added that "It is a difficult argument to support, however, since the agreement makes no mention of social programs" and that revisions to "harmonization" referred to cost-sharing and cost-sharing duties as applied to bilateral trade, partly trade-related matters. But for the most part, the scare talk about the nation of social programs to come was allowed to flourish unopposed by curiosity or skepticism, because conflict sells.



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TELEVISION

Hope springs eternal

A series explores lessons of tribal life

MILLENNIUM TRIBAL WISDOM
AND THE MODERN WORLD
(Global, Sundays, 10 p.m.)

As Whyte's tribesman in Indonesia looks on an ancient's death and addresses it passionately. At a festival in Niger, a beautiful Wodaabe girl lures with a male dancer wearing elaborate makeup and a large conical hat. And in Brazil, a Xavante Indian describes being taken from his family before with other boys until he was ready for his initiation ceremony. The scenes are exotic and light years away from modern, industrialized society. But it is the genius of *Millennium: Tribal Wisdom and the Modern World*, a new 10-part television series co-produced by Canada and Britain, that it makes those cultures understandable and relevant to the Western world. In fact, the series' theme is that modern society's fate may well depend on what it can learn from these imperiled groups.

Host David Maybury-Lewis, a Harvard anthropologist, says that the series tries to "capture the wisdom of tribal people before it is all gone."

Ten years in the making, *Millennium* succeeds on both the grand and small scales: it balances spectacular footage of faraway places with intimate glimpses of individual lives, from Nepal to New York City. Executive producer Adrian Malone (Cinema, *The Ascent of Man*) and the series' creators, Toronto-based Richard March and Michael Grant, have organized a vast amount of material along thematic lines. Each show is narrated by Maybury-Lewis, who also writes the companion volume, published by Progress. At times ponderous, he is also witty.



Host David Maybury-Lewis: exotic

"Nothing else will produce a more stupefied boredom than talking about the consumer society," he says in an episode about poverty and wealth, "and nothing will produce a more serious anger than suggesting we change it."

The truly sensitive aspect of the series is the provocative contrasts it creates between the ways that tribal societies and the modern world deal with basic issues: birth, death, work, sex, love and marriage, science and magic, and the function of art. And the series claims that problems like starvation, suicide, family break-

downs and homelessness rarely afflict tribal societies that have remained relatively isolated in the fourth millennium, a teenage Canadian girl talks about her suicide attempt, explaining that she felt fat, ugly and "too alone." By contrast, the Wodaabe nomad girl is serene and confident.

Without overly romanticizing the isolated cultures or underestimating the achievements of modern society, *Millennium* offers an intelligent and unapologetic plea for the modern world to open itself up to what Maybury-Lewis de-

scribes as the mystery and "the sleek of the other." And, in portraying the other so vividly, *Millennium* is utterly compelling.

DEANE TURBIDE

TELEVISION

Unsolved murders

The Susan Nelles case is a riveting tale

REGINA VS NELLES
(CBC, March 2, 8 p.m.)

The image seemed out of focus. On March 28, 1985, the media showed a distinctive, gruff-looking woman being led away by Toronto police, who had charged her with the murder of an infant in her care. The arrest of Susan Nelles took place after a series of baby deaths at the city's overcrowded Hospital for Sick Children between June 1980 and March 1985. In all, 36 infants, more than seven times the expected number, had died of cardiac arrest at the hospital during that period. The charges set Nelles on a long and painful journey, one that continued for years after a preliminary hearing cleared her of any wrongdoing in 1987. Now, her story is the subject of a two-hour episode of the occasional CBC dramatic series, *The Scale of Justice*. At times weighed down by the stiffly delivered narrative of Toronto lawyer Edward (Eddie)



Griffin (left), Nelles: long, painful journey

Greenstein. *Regina vs Nelles* provides a straightforward, absorbing look at one of the most baffling cases in Canadian legal history.

Nelles, who now runs her married name, Pene, hadly won a \$60,000 settlement for personal suffering from the Ontario government in July. And last summer, she visited the Regina vs Nelles set to consult with producer George Jones. Now living in the eastern Ontario city of Belleville with her husband, James, a municipal administrator, and their three children, aged 2 to 6, Pene told *Maclean's* she was relieved that Jones, who co-wrote the script, had resisted the temptation to spin up the facts with sensationalizing fiction and instead relied on official transcripts.

Pene, who suffered other personal tragedies during the 1970s—her father, pediatrician James Nelles, died of a heart attack in 1963, and her brother, David, also a physician, died of a brain aneurysm in 1984—recalled that her conversations with Jones stirred up some disturbing memories. "The mind has a wonderful way of suppressing things you don't want to remember," she said. "Now, some of those things are coming back." The first half of the show, which details the months leading up to the arrest of Nelles (played by an understated but intense Jennifer Griffin), depicts a hospital conspiracy which ignored the fact that something was

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TELEVISION

terribly wrong. Although members of the coronial department met in mid-January, 1988, to discuss 15 unexpected deaths that had occurred since the previous June, they took no decisive action.

It was not until March, and after 39 more young cardiac patients had died, that a doctor named Rodney Fowler (Graham MacPherson) acted on a hunch and ordered an autopsy of a 25-day-old baby named Kevin Pocus. The results were stunning: Pocus had died from a massive overdose of digoxin, a drug that doctors had prescribed in minute amounts to slow down his heart rate. Scanning records, hospital staff discovered that another baby, Janice Ravella, had died the previous January, and that tests—at the time assumed to have been misread—showed toxic levels of digoxin. Hospital administrators immediately arranged a meeting with two homicide officers.

Agnes as Nellie vividly portrays the panic and disbelief that struck Sick Children's staff. In one scene, all of the cardiac nurses gather at the home of a local nurse and, sipping coffee, nervously talk about rumors of a murderer in their midst. On March 23, the same day that Staff Sgt. Jack Proulx (J. Winston Carroll) announced a full-scale investigation, two more babies, one-year-old Allen Miller and 14-month-old Justin Cook, died from overdoses of digoxin. Three of the babies known to have died from digoxin toxicity had been under the care of a nursing team that included Nellie, and she had almost exclusive responsibility for the Cook baby. On March 25, on the basis of evidence that would prove to be flimsy, Proulx charged the nurses with Cook's murder, and two days later she was charged with the murders of the other three.

The program's second half retraces the strenuous efforts by police and the Ontario attorney general's office to build a case against Nellie—while almost entirely ignoring alternative theories of how the babies died. *Agnes* as Nellie follows the five-month preliminary inquiry that resulted in Nellie's discharge. Actor Martin Doyle is particularly strong as the aggressive, prosecuting Crown attorney Robert McGee. The show then chronicles an Ontario royal commission inquiry into the affair conducted by Mr. Justice Samuel Gossage (David Hemsley). In his ruling, released in January, 1988, Gossage concluded that at least eight of the deaths resulted from "real play," but declined to speculate further. He also recommended that the Ontario government compensate Nellie for her legal fees and expenses.

Clakka Gossage, who concluded that despite an avalanche "the system worked," Proulx said that "in hindsight, the system did not work at all." She added: "I just believe that if they hadn't involved so directly so me, after such a short period of investigation, there would be more answers today." Re-creating a case that fascinated—and frustrated—the nation, *Agnes* as Nellie presents a frank look at the system as it really was, slow to react, quick to blame and, ultimately, failing in its duty.

VICTOR DWYER



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VITALITY

PARTICIPATION



Prime-time sparks

Pressure groups try to sanitize TV shows

In his three years on the air, the lead character of the popular NBC series *Quantum Leap* has landed in some pretty tight situations by employing his peculiar ability to travel through time—and into other people's bodies. Played by Scott Bakula, Sam Becker has thrown himself into a Vietnam soldier's and a Mafia don's girlfriend, all in his continuing efforts to influence the course of history for the better. But on the evening of the show's Jan. 13 episode, when he found himself in a fictional Michigan military academy in 1964, and in the body of a cadet whose homosexual friends were being prosecuted via contemptuous attitude, Becker placed NBC in a difficult position. Just days before the episode aired, clearly uncomfortable with such a controversial theme, several advertisers whom NBC had declined to name informed the network that they were withdrawing commitments worth a total of \$573,000 from the episode. The response from TV producers and writers in the United States was swift. Scott Bakula, president of the syndicated series *Wildfire* and of *Archie*, *Wings*, "The *Quantum Leap* incident has put a real chill in the air. More than ever, writers are asking themselves, 'Should I be avoiding certain subjects?'"

Quantum Leap is not the first series dealing with homosexuality that advertisers have boycotted. In 1989, ABC lost \$1.15 million when sponsors withdrew from an episode of the drama *Designing Women* that featured two homosexual men talking in bed. And other controversial themes, involving both control and extramarital sex, have driven American sponsors away from ABC, NBC and CBS. According to Betty Frank, senior vice-president of television information and cost audits at Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising in New York City, many advertisers are also becoming more sensitive about abortion in dramatic programs because that issue and homosexuality "continue to polarize the country."

In Canada, however, television writers, producers and executives contend that advertiser skepticism has had little effect on the domestic TV landscape and that, in general, viewers are open to increasingly bold plot lines. Sam James Barr, the creative head of reviews and



Bakula (left), Dean Cain/Wall in *Quantum Leap* (above), *Reckless* from *Conspiracy of Silence*: "a real chill in the air"



newsmen of the CBC "Canadian audiences are better at dealing with gay issues—and I guess Canadian advertisers realize that." Such groundbreaking shows as *Street Legal*, *ER*, and the now-defunct *Dupey* (later *Alien*) have routinely dealt with controversial subject matter—and attracted sizable audiences—while rebroadcasting advertising. But the creation of Canadian shows like the miniseries *Conspiracy of Silence* and *Dupey*, says Barr, is not the same as aggressively bold plot lines. Sam James Barr, the creative head of reviews and

United States, network executives there sometimes request cuts of what they say is objectionable material. Although such cuts do not affect what is shown in Canada.

Experts across the board point to the decline of the so-called three-*U.S.* networks as one of the main factors behind the new nervousness over program content in the United States. Since 1973, because of competition from cable and specialty services, as well as FCC, the three major networks have lost their combined share of the prime-time audience plummet by almost 30 percentage points, to 64 per cent of viewers. Meanwhile, the three networks' share of advertising fell 13 percentage points to 47 per cent between 1975 and 1990. During that period, cable stations and the upstart Fox Broadcasting Co. forced every advertising dollar. At the same time, the economic downturn appears to have made advertisers especially sensitive to issues that might hurt their products.

The problems in congressional circles in the United States by the existence of several small but well-organized pressure groups. One of the most vocal is the American Family Association, based in Taglio, Texas, which in recent years has organized corporate boycotts and letter-writing campaigns targeting, among other companies, Burger King Corp. The association criticized the hamburger chain for sponsoring such shows as *Marple Brown*, which it scorned for an episode in which a legally separated couple have sex, and ABC's *L.A. Law* for an episode in which a Roman Catholic priest considers absorbing a woman who confesses to virginal birth control. Association president Donald Wildmon said that his group encourages shows that are "clean, wholesome and family-oriented"—and that the way to advance such programming is through "economic boycotts of the companies that sponsor trash on television."

One theme to which several such groups have taken exception is abortion. Their concern over that issue intensified last fall when three different American prime-time series introduced plot lines involving unintended characters who thought—on some cases mistakenly—that they were pregnant. None of the three shows abortion. Still, when the lead character in the popular CBS comedy *Marple Brown*, played by Candice Bergen, chose to

keep her child after discovering that she was pregnant, the Media Research Center, based in Alexandria, Va., criticized the show's producers for not being more openly discussing the possibility of terminating the pregnancy. In a newsletter sent to its 2,000 members across the United States and Canada, the association declared: "All arguments regarding the decision centered on the aspect a baby would have so Marple's career and the quality of the child's life, ignoring the child's right to life."

In the debate over abortion, says Bergen, recent years, writers themselves have become distant about the appropriateness of having a popular prime-time character elect to undergo the procedure. Although *Reckless* of the women could proceed the creation of *Marple Brown* for "giving a love-to-go to us writers that we can deal with this issue," he added that it would have been asking too much of viewers to have known just for an abortion. Pointing to the debate that regularized the lead character in the popular 1970s series *Murphy Brown*, played by Faye Dunaway, he said: "Many viewers could rightly say, 'What a monster, you writers, we tried to let get entertained, and you're giving us something much heavier.'"

For his part, Peter Lower, executive producer of drama at Toronto-based CBC, said that although he sees "in some cases a need to present both sides" of the issue, he thinks that it would be possible for *ER*'s fictional news producer Ann Robinson (Sherry Stringfield) to have an abortion. "I think we're at the point," said Lower, "where a mature, responsible character could make that decision." Still, Lower acknowledged that handling controversial themes in a way that will not offend viewers is difficult. "Because things like abortion and gay rights are so in the news," he said, "people are more aware of the issues—and fight over both ways. On the one hand, viewers are more educated and request more quickly if something bothers them. But at the same time, as broadcasters, we are allowed a certain creative freedom to tell a well-crafted story."

The Canadian response to *Quantum Leap* demonstrates a greater openness than in the United States. According to officials at Global TV, which carries *Quantum Leap* in Canada, not a single advertiser pulled commitments or lodged complaints about the miniseries. Inconspicu-

ously enough, even though the show was scheduled to the one that aired in the United States two months earlier, CBC ran an episode of *ER* in which one of the show's regular characters, TV producer Erin Marlowe (Quinn Welch), publicly acknowledged her homosexuality. The show drew 1,237,000 viewers, generating *ER*'s highest ratings of the season—and no advertisers pulled out or complained. According to Ann Robinson, non-president of Media Advertising Ltd. in Toronto, that is because Canadian companies are gener-



Bergen in scene from *Marple Brown* considering abortion

ally much less sensitive than the show on which they advertise. "You don't have those catchphrase killer groups starting everyone up," he said. "In Canada, viewer reaction tends to be subtle. It's like, 'I bet it just doesn't have the same force.'"

The different attitudes prevailing in the two countries are demonstrated most starkly when American networks request Canadian prod-

ucers to sanitize Canadian-made shows for U.S. audiences. The CBC's Bart revealed that when officials at the network sent a copy of its miniseries *Conspiracy of Silence* to later counterparts at CBS and the American network, he was asked for changes. Several months earlier, CBS had bought the rights to the show, which dealt with the 1971 murder of native Helen Betty Osborne in The Pas, Man. But after it received a copy, the American network asked CBS producer Bennett Bodenheimer to alter two scenes that included plots about native people by racism. After further negotiations, CBS dropped the request.

Linda Schayler, executive producer of *Private*, a CBS series, said that she once had to cut scenes from an episode dealing with abortion when the show was airing in 1988 in the United States. She added that her company made two versions of one scene in the recent movie *School's Out*. The *Quantum Leap*—one of the CBC and American networks with less potential for potential sale to PBS.

Despite the objections of several sponsors to the recent episode of *Quantum Leap* at least some advertisers appear to be coming to terms with the power of promotional programming. Indeed, in recent months some commentators have criticized the networks for airing too many low-budget miniseries involving rape and other violent crimes against women. Write New York Times columnist John J. O'Connor, "Network executives and researchers, mostly men, have evidently concluded that female viewers, a majority for this type of film, like it that way."

And the popular NBC drama *Law & Order*, which premiered in the fall of 1990, has included stories about abortion-clinic bombings and assisted suicide for AIDS patients. As a result, the series lost a number of advertisers. But its strong ratings have since helped to attract the deal.

Still executive producer Dick Wolf: "What the advertisers really realized was that the audience watched *Law & Order* for the very reason they were watching out of it." According to Wolf, the networks are clearly finding it harder than ever to stop viewers and advertisers from doing so.

VICTOR DYER

Manful boy, boyish man

Indiana Jones bursts onto the small screen

THE YOUNG INDIANA
JONES CHRONICLES
ATF, January-March 2, 9 a.m.

In three blockbuster movies, he's been a daring, wing-whipping hero whose only weak point was a fear of snakes. Archeologist Indiana Jones, portrayed by Harrison Ford as the big-screen, intrepid man-of-mystery, has made a name for himself as conqueror and danger. How "Indy" is coming to retirement—in a way, at least—wasn't Director George Lucas' idea; movie credits include the Star Wars movies as well as the Indiana Jones trilogy, has spent the past three years creating *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*, on which he served as executive producer. The 16-part series, airing on CBS and ABC, combines the excitement and energy of Lucas's movies with stories that stimulate the mind as well as the imagination.

Many of the shows are narrated by Jones as age 90, portrayed by a suitably crutchy George H. Brown. Through flashbacks, he recalls his many fearless adventures as a young man. In the opening two-hour episode, which is double the length of the ones that follow, Jones, played by a spirited Corey Carrier as a child and Sena Pliskin Pliskin as a teenager, recounts two adventures, years and continents apart, that are tied together by a common thread of intrigue. Looking back to 1908, the elderly Jones recalls a trip to Egypt with his parents. Exploring the pyramids, he meets T. E. Lawrence, who would later gain military and legendary fame as Lawrence of Arabia.

In between discussions about heretaphysics and life after death, they become involved in a spine-tingling saga that involves a woman's tooth, an ancient curse and a mysterious murder. In the show's dramatic second hour, a teenage Jesus travels into the thick of the Mexican Revolution, where he discusses politics with rebel hero Francisco (Pancho Villa)—and finally solves for Einstein's murder.

Chernobyl, filmed in 11 countries, has a virtual rosters that is rare in the northern And Lakes-dre w on an international roster of directors, including England's Nicolas Roeg and Canada's Deepa Mehta, as well as an impressive cast of guest stars. In one show, Vanessa Redgrave plays a British suffragette leader. As ambitious as the ensemble itself, *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles* is a small-screen extravaganza.

Moving at a Calgary Reform party picnic: a 'hand-head, soft-heart' approach

BOOKS

Prophet of Reform

Exploring the roots of Manning's campaign

In a book, nothing else, a startling turn of phrase. In their expansive study of the leader of the Reform party, Canada's fastest-growing political movement, the husband-and-wife team of Dan Bland and Sydney Sharpe write: "Trudeau Manning, alone among Canada's major political leaders, believes that the world can end at any moment with the physical annihilation of Jesus. That every citizen should be a Christian and that Jesus should appear to Christ and bear His Cross, and that the saved will go to heaven and the damned will burn forever in hell." At several other points in *Showering Haystack: Preston Manning and the Rise of the Reform Party* (Gap Press, 216 pages, \$24.95), the Alberta-based journalists cast the Reform party leader, an evangelical Christian, as a serious critic of the secularism of the Canadian political establishment. But like most other authors,

to depict the steadily low-key Manning as a dangerous extremist, the authors' rhetorical arrows tend to fall wide of their mark.

In fact, the evidence of three current books about the Reform party, Manning, 69, is not the well-wired prophet of the far right that his critics like to portray. Although Murray Dobbin's *Prentice Manning and the Reform Party* (Lantern, 286 pages, \$16.95) hints darkly that Manning is the front man for a number of neoconservative—and perhaps even neo-fascist—ideas, it provides little substantiation. Instead, Dobbin's book, as well as Brand and Sharpe's study and Manning's own *Interracial: The New Canada* (Macmillan, 373 pages, \$29.95), make clear that the Reform leadership is a loose and often fractious collection of party members who have been in existence since the party's founding in 1957. By the end of the 1980s, Manning was still watching his father, Bower, serve as Social Credit governor of Alberta. The Alberta-sta-

ACCORDS

Societas were not some Prairie precursor of Thatcherism or Reaganism. Born out of the Depression, the Societies combined fiscal conservatism with a social conscience. In one issue Alberta's of royalties to expand education and health facilities in the province. In his own book, Manning advocates a similarly "hard-head, soft-heart" approach to public policy.

All three books are fired by the prejudices of their authors. But taken together, they provide a more balanced view of the man and the party. As dry and earnest as its author's public persona, *The New Canada* is predictably self-serving—it even includes a 58-page self-interview in which Manning explains the work.

To his credit, Manning deals squarely with those who raise concerns about his religious affiliations. He confirms that both he and his housekeeper wife, Sandra, are devout Christians, and that their personal convictions place them firmly in the anti-abortion camp. But he argues convincingly that Canadians are choosing for politicians who display a strong sense of values or ethics beyond an overriding concern for their own re-election. He also insists that he would never impose his religious beliefs on his constituents or his cabinet.

Together, the three books shed new light on why the Reform party is appealing to so many Canadians—and why it may contain the seeds of its own destruction. As all the authors agree,

that a vote for Reform was a vote to kill the case.

Meanwhile, at least part of the Reform party's appeal may prove to be fleeting. In English Canada, the party is dismissed outright from across the political spectrum. Some among Reform even though they strongly identify with the party's agenda, are wary of its agenda as it promises to put control over medicine exclusively in the hands of the provinces. But if one uses the terms the new recruits, it is clear that Manning, once a strong moral voice, is now prepared to take the party in a new direction. "I'm not a religious person," says a Quebecer's friend. "I'm a St. Laurent, a St. Pierre and Paul person; a telling quote from Edmund Spenser, Jerome Stack, a language I don't support." "I can't stand the Reform party's position on things like medicine and education," says another. "I'm not a religious person, but I'm a St. Laurent, a St. Pierre and Paul person; a telling quote from Edmund Spenser, Jerome Stack, a language I don't support." "I can't stand the Reform party's position on things like medicine and education," says another. "I'm not a religious person, but I'm a St. Laurent, a St. Pierre and Paul person; a telling quote from Edmund Spenser, Jerome Stack, a language I don't support."

As Dehls, Storpe and Brad point out, serious questions remain about where the Reform party proposes to take Canada—particularly in areas of social policy and women's rights that it is not enough to follow the lead of some critics who glibly accuse Reformers of racism or who reveal their own prejudices by fixating on Manning's religious convictions. With the publication of these three volumes, so urgently needed public debate on the merits of the Reform agenda may have finally begun.

WILLIAM BUCHHEIMAN



Ernest Manning, his early combined Social conservatism with a social conscience

sons of Bill and Thelma. Minkow also wrote vividly of the 1950s and 1960s, when "the media generally respected a politician's desire to keep his public life and family life separate." But, mindful of the current political era, he describes his upbringing and his life as a husband and father of five children, April 11 to 28.

What emerges are the details of a life beyond remarkably mainly for the fact that the boy is the premier's son. Minkow attended a rural high school and shined out of his shoes at his parents' dairy farm out of 600 acres. He was a member of the Future Teachers of America. He had a room in the new state-of-the-art legislature building, but he did not go to the premier's office when, he writes, he "strained to hear 'the grinding of an axe' as various interest groups lobbied his father."

From an early age, Manning developed a voracious—and eclectic—reading habit. While in his teens, he devoured Winston Churchill's *A History of the English Speaking Peoples*. More lucriferously, the young Manning acquired and read the entire Revised Statutes of Alberta and the Revised Statutes of Canada. In fact, Manning may be one of the best-read politicians in Canada: in his book, he quotes several well-known philosophers and historians, as well as such literary giants as Tolstoy and Milton.

the greatest threat of the Reform party is the Mulroney government. One of Manning's key themes is that federal politicians no longer represent the wishes of their constituents. The most compelling example of that comes from his home province's 22 Tory MPs, who blithely ignored the expressed views of the majority of Albertans by supporting the Meech Lake accord and the federal Goods and Services Tax, and who paid only lip service to the demand for a Triple E Senate. "After the seemingly endless barrage of betrayed trust from political leaders," writes Sharpe and Brand, "Manning's antidote, a straightforward penitence, introspection and faith."

Unhappy for Manning, his own credibility is open to question because of the way that he has handled the controversy over the GST in Alberta. In particular, the Reform party drew momentum and won both a federal by-election and a unique Senate election largely through its unopposed opposition to the disputed consumption tax. Now, Manning advocates revisiting the GST to help state fill the fiscal crisis engulfing Ottawa. As Sharpe, Reid and Dobbin all note, it is an astounding reversal—one that will surely cost Manning support among those who took it as an article of the

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Abstract

- 1 The Road to Omaha, *Carlson* (3)
- 2 Rising Sun, *Crutcher* (6)
- 3 Griffin and Sabine, *Stentek* (7)
- 4 Wilderness Ties, *Alford* (3)
- 5 The Republic of Love, *Stutts* (3)
- 6 Murther & Walking Spirts, *Devos* (5)
- 7 How Easy Was Girls, *Gilmer*
- 8 Holesaw, *Kovacs* (15)
- 9 Yes, *Isler* (7)
- 10 Devils Run, *Kellemen* (6)

MS/TV54

- 1 Resolution Born Within, *Simsen* (1)
- 2 Bookish, *Falish* (2)
- 3 The New Canada, *Manning* (3)
- 4 Starring Babyface, *Shurp and Brail* (5)
- 5 A Return to Love, *William*
- 6 Popcorn Report, *Feyrer* (8)
- 7 The Betrayal of Canada, *Hortig* (4)
- 8 Writers on World War II, *et. al.* (7)
- 9 George Bush's War, *Smith*
- 10 Traction Pointers, *Mech* (3)

2. *Postpone last word*

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Will Elizabeth II yield the throne?

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are two myths floating out there in the wind, in all the recent fuss over the 40th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth on the throne of a forlorn country. The one is that Dr. Foth, who insists that the Brits should stick with their royalty and that Canada should grow up, knows nothing about the myth. This is not true.

The second is the misconception that Good Queen Becca stubbornly sticking to her crown and actually won't give it up to the resolutely underemployed Prince Charles. Both beliefs are mistakes. We are here to debunk you of these. In 1981, your agent, for his sake, was ordered to cover the Canadian wedding of the Virgin De and the chap with the large ears. I sat some 50 feet from the fairy-tale extravaganza in St. Paul's Cathedral and was struck most of all by one overriding image. It was the glass and uncut diamond on the face of the mother of the bridegroom.

One would have thought—all London affirms this party person understands it as a people who lead such fancy lives—that the Queen would have been beaming with pride. She wasn't. She looked unhappy. We have shared a glass or two of the record press mags on the royal picket line, at the time, poor Elizabeth was struck by (a) her daughter-in-law, (b) the fact she is more attractive in person than in pictures, (c) her understanding of what London is withering.

Impact as it was a good heifer. The good heifer had desperately lost the love of St. Paul's Cathedral. She has never smiled since. The reason she has never smiled since is because, as she gazed at the altar and the fairy-tale wedding, she knew within herself that she was probably would be an old and lost and discarded age before he ever acceded to the throne she would like to give up.

She would like to, but she's decided she can't. Because of the past and because of the present conduct of her offspring, she's been advised by her Buckingham Palace advisers that she has to stay, for the survival of the monarchy.

The past of course was her selfish uncle, the

has upstaged her this off to the disco with Perse. He's 43 and could let retirement slip before his coronation. His mother is 65 and certainly out of it. The press are in the family. The Queen Mum is 114 and screaming and still going strong, with the peach, the corgis and the gin.

The Brits are used to longevity. George VI stuck it out for 56 years on the throne. Queen Victoria did better, lasting almost 64. The incumbent may beat that. No wonder she looks so glum. No wonder Prince Charles is reluctant to completing about architecture.

There is the additional problem of the property. The royals were once a tight little family unit. Now there are so many of them that some, assembly are supposed, left off the back of the truck. Dower has entered the holy tale, through Princess Margaret, and is impending through Princess Anne, with her husband, Mark Phillips, in a journey out in New Zealand with some heavy bag.

Fleet Street seems that some of the juvenile antics threaten to bring the Windsor down to the level of the partying Blandford aristocrats. There was Randy Andy with his pom star, Koo Bicki Perse, with her aggressive bad taste in clothes, seems a genuine about to explode in the suburbs any week. The young brother Edward, who managed his father by also doing the military, seems to say and exorcise about life. There is always some story coming up for spending or drops or loss.

Lady Di, who vies with Madonna for most magazine covers of the year, has become a fashion industry as her own, is bored with Scottish wood and kilts. Do the Brits want a queen in a kilt? No, not yet they don't.

Does anyone desire to be stuck with one job beyond 60 years? Nope. But there's the trouble. It's not a job, it's an inheritance. Duty calls. In order to hold the duty—and keep the myth alive—she must find her one reliable son grow old from cradle and loosely from maturity.

She knows the secret to his success nature and how to lift it. Hand him the crown. But she can't, well, because it would destroy the myth. It's all high-class soap opera, and the British public loves to watch while Canada is trying to grow up without it.

Prince Charles has fallen of a polygraph case too often and has been advised to give up the sport. What to do? Perhaps he could try reading the encyclopedia from front to back, as a bored Ed Scheraga once tried in Balcon 100. Or write down what flowers say when they talk back. He's only offering advice. It's going to be a long wait.

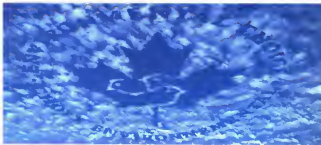


Prince of Wales, who threatened the throne for the coming and much-married Wales. She was—and spent the rest of his life wondering in exile, a girl's figure. Good Queen Becca can never forgive her uncle Edward for that. The abdication forced her able father, who didn't want the job, to become king a task that killed him—and therefore ruined the youth of a 25-year-old young bride who had to accept a heavy crown.

If King Edward can quit the job for love, on Elizabeth now do it because she's old! All wants her long-awaited son to leave it. Nope. The dangerous precedent cannot be repeated. It's too fragile a myth and so. The crown is not something you can abandon, willy-nilly, as the cottage would be debated. It's not a job, it's a calling—a lifetime calling.

Little wonder the moody Prince Charles is reluctant to taking to flowers and woodland the Scottish woods as he looks while the wife who

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